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15 November 1983

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN-TURKISH PANEL TO DISCUSS CLAIMS, COUNTERCLAIMS

Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 28 Sep 83 p 1

[Article: "Turkish Professors to Respond to Armenian Claims"]

[Text] The Association of Middle Eastern Studies, known by the acronym MESA, recognized as a most serious academic organization, will debate the Armenian Question at a conference to be held in Chicago in November.

Official spokesmen stress that the Conference, which will deal with various aspects of the Armenian Question, will constitute an unprecedented arena of confrontation between Turkish scholars and Armenian historians.

Following lengthy preparations, American Armenian lecturers and organizations have succeeded in putting together four panels, two on the Armenian massacres and two on Armenian history, which will be placed on the agenda at the annual convention of the Association of Middle Eastern Studies to be held at the University of Chicago at the beginning of November. In response, American Turkish scholars and historians set to work, succeeding in including on the conference agenda two panels on the same issues. Emphatic positions on this question have been taken by Turkish professors Halil Inalcki and Kemal Karpatti. In addition, the Turkish Foreign Ministry has endeavored to contact the conference organizers, in order to send a number of lecturers from Turkey.

Official spokesmen, noting the importance of the conference, stress that an important role will be played by those panels on which Turkish scholars plan to confront the Armenians, with the intention of determining the legitimacy of Armenian claims and allegations.

It has been learned from various sources that at the conference the Armenians will attempt to have resolutions passed which call for opening up Turkish archives to public access and calling for elementary and secondary schools in America to institute the teaching of Armenian history.

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CSO: 4605/5

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

LONDON-BASED 'ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE' ASKS FOR COMPENSATION

Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 30 Sep 83 p 1

[Editorial: "And Now the Armenian National Committee Has Begun Brazenly Demanding Compensation: It Has Been Decided to Ask for 135 Billion Turkish Pounds as Indemnification for the Killed Armenians and Seized Property"]

[Text] London (AP). Military Armenian organizations in the West, attacking Turkey with propaganda as they were supposedly celebrating the 65th anniversary of the establishment of a republic of "Independent Armenia," have decided to demand indemnification from Turkey for the Armenians who died in 1915-16.

In light of the resolutions passed at the Second World Armenian Congress, held in Lausanne, Switzerland in July, Armenian associations and organizations in the Western World are planning to demand compensation from Turkey for the Armenians who died in 1915-16.

The London-based Armenian National Committee, alleging that when the Armenians went into exile the real property of the Anatolian Armenians was seized by the Istanbul Government, claims that this property possessed a value in Turkish gold equivalent to 5 million pounds sterling.

The London-based Armenian National Committee, claiming that the 1961 [sic] value of an ounce of gold on the London gold market was 3.80 pounds sterling, and that today's value totals 360 million pounds sterling, amounting to approximately 135 billion Turkish pounds, issued a demand that this amount, plus "interest," be given as indemnification to the Armenian people. The committee claims that inasmuch as Italy, France, and Great Britain consented to the takeover of power in Turkey, these countries also bear responsibility for payment of indemnification and that, according to international law, such compensation is "just and proper."

At the same time Armenian groups living in various cities in Europe and North America, following the initiative of the London-based group, allegedly on behalf of all Armenians marked the 65th anniversary of the first Independent Armenian Republic established in Eastern Anatolia in 1918.

At a formal celebration gathering held at the St. Peter's Armenian Church in London, speakers stressed on behalf of the "Navasard Committee" that Armenians must work with wholehearted determination for practical realization of the republic of "Independent Armenia" established in Eastern Anatolia.

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ARMENIAN COMMUNITY COMMEMORATES MARTYRS' DAY OF 'WAR WEEK'

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 27 Sep 83 p 1

[Text] Yesterday, on the fifth day of the War Week, the day of the martyrs, the wounded and the disabled, a special requiem was held, presided over by the Armenian Prelate of Tehran, His Beatitude Archbishop Ardak Manugian and attended by thousands of Tehran Armenians and relatives of Armenian martyrs who were invited by the Armenian Diocese Council of Tehran. The ceremony was also attended by the Prelate of the Armenian Diocese of Iran and India, His Beatitude Archbishop Gorun Papian.

The walls of the courtyard surrounding the Saint Sarkis Church were adorned with the flags of the Islamic Republic of Iran and slogans declaring "Death to America, Death to the Soviet Union, Death to Israel."

The large crowd listened to the ceremony silently and respectfully. Taking part in the ceremony were priests and the choir of the Saint Sarkis Church.

Immediately after the requiem, the Holy Father noted in his sermon that Armenian soldiers are also fighting on the war fronts alongside Islamic fighters and added that thanks to the courageous stance of the Iranian people the enemy has been repelled and that the Iranian people have won great victories thanks to their youth. The Prelate said: "We are certain that we will continue the war with the same vigor until final victory."

The Holy Father then emphatically referred to the active work of Armenian students to strengthen the reserve forces. A translation of the Holy Father's sermon was recited by Mr Levon Aharonian, following which the choir sang "Sourp Sourp."

Later, Mr Hrair Khalatian, the representative of the Armenians of Tehran and northern Iran in the Islamic Majlis, was invited to the rostrum. He said during his speech: "For three years, Iran has been fighting an imposed war in which Iranian-Armenians have been participating wholeheartedly. The Armenian community has given and will continue to give its blood for this involuntary and imposed war. The Iranian-Armenian community has sacrificed and will continue to sacrifice young lives, and the war's destruction is already engulfing even our churches and our communities."

At the end of his speech, Mr Khalatian invited Hojjat ol-Eslam Navvabi, the delegate from Ramhormoz in the Majlis, who spoke on behalf of the Majlis. He

said during his speech: "The victories won thanks to the sacrifices of our fighters show that the Iranian people is not tired of war and that it will continue its struggle against world hegemony until final victory." Reiterating the true slogan of the revolution, "freedom, independence and Islamic republic", Navvabi said that the religious minorities have joined hands with Moslems to fight for freedom and independence.

After Hojjat ol-Falam Navvabi's speech a wreath-laying ceremony was held by the representatives of the Armenian Diocese Council of Tehran, the parents' associations of the Armenian schools and Armenian organizations.

Later, Mr Levon Aharonian ended the ceremonies after thanking those who were present.

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CSO: 4605/8

TURKISH PAPER GIVES DETAILS ON ASALA'S INTERNAL DISSENT

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 26 Sep 83 pp 1,4

[Text] HURRIYET yesterday disclosed new details of the dissent within ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] and the faction known as the ASALA Revolutionary Movement, which opposes ASALA. This faction has issued a second statement strongly deplored ASALA leader Hagop Hagopian, who also calls himself Mujahid. According to this second statement, Hagopian has committed the following crimes which, like the Orly incident, have led to purposeless bloodletting and which have hurt the Armenian cause:

1. The Orly incident and other similar acts hurt the Armenian cause and constitute a declaration of war against powers which are not directly related to the Armenian problem.
2. In June 1982, a blind Armenian young man named Nshan was shot to death by 32 bullets on the orders of Hagop Hagopian. His only crime was his relationship with a mentally unbalanced youth named Hamo Moskofian.
3. In July 1983, an ASALA activist named Sarkish Kulhanjian was murdered simply because Hagopian did not like him. It was announced that Kulhanjian was killed in combat.
4. In March 1983, Ara Toranian, who had started to break away from ASALA became the target of an assassination attempt ordered by Hagopian, but escaped from death.
5. In April 1983, another ASALA activist escaped a similar assassination attempt.
6. Hagop Hagopian embezzled hundreds of thousands of dollars collected for ASALA and refused to account for them to anyone.
7. Several Armenians were killed in Beirut in recent years on Hagopian's orders. Also, numerous bombs were planted in the Armenian quarter of Beirut again on the instructions of Hagopian.
8. Hagopian maintains ties with intelligence gathering agencies of various countries and has received large sums of money from Libya.

The statement says that Hagopian has lost his status as leader of ASALA, but that he continues to punish those who disobey his orders by various means. The statement says: "However, we will not permit this situation to continue."

HURRIYET adds that bloody confrontations among Armenians continue everywhere around the world. In a recent incident in Los Angeles, 48-year-old Antranig Seisian was murdered in his home in Hollywood. A stranger knocked on Seisian's door and shot him when he opened the door.

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

PAPER COMMENTS ON RADIO ANKARA BROADCASTS

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 1 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] In its broadcasts on 30 and 31 August, Radio Ankara talked about acts of terrorism. On this issue, it said that those acts contravene human values, that they have been claiming innocent lives, etcetera, etcetera. The radio also said that the assassination of Turkish diplomats and other terrorist acts are part of "international terrorism" and therefore all governments must cooperate with each other on a worldwide basis to neutralize them.

In this connection, Radio Ankara referred to the recent explosion at the French consulate in Berlin, as a result of which one person died and 22 were wounded.

That was one of the "heroic" acts committed by ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia], and Radio Ankara talked about divisions within ASALA. The radio quoted excerpts from the German paper DIE WELT, which criticized the French government for its lax attitude toward perpetrators of terrorist acts.

In its broadcast on 3 September, Radio Ankara again complained about France and then reported that France has realized what a big "mistake" it has made by tolerating terrorists.

Later, returning to the Berlin incident, the radio reported that Armenian leaders also condemn terrorist plots and the killing of innocent people.

Then, the radio began to talk about the Armenian question, which supposedly was artificially created at the beginning of the 20th century by foreign powers who are exploiting the issue for their own interests.

Radio Ankara remained silent about the fact that the Armenian question came about much before that, that is after Armenia was occupied by the Turkish empire.

The radio said that during World War I certain "population movements" (forced migration and massacres) took place in view of Turkey's position in the war and many Armenians died during the move.

Then, Radio Ankara reiterated things we have heard many times before: That the Armenians in Turkey today have several schools, hospitals, churches and other institutions, that they publish their own papers and that as Turkish citizens they live freely and enjoy equal rights with the Turks.

Radio Ankara made no mention of the repression and threats to which Armenian organizations in Istanbul are subjected, the fact that they cannot get permits to renovate and repair their buildings, the fact that Armenian school principals are not allowed to act freely, the fact that the "ian" suffix in the surnames of newborn Armenian babies is deleted in their identity papers and is replaced with "oglu" and the fact that only children with pure Armenian surnames are allowed to register in Armenian schools.

In its broadcast on 5 September, Radio Ankara reported a statement by President Kenan Evren on the occasion of the announcement of the winners of prizes given out by a cultural foundation.

Evren, a U.S. agent, this time took an unusual "leap" and showed himself as a defender of Islam by playing variations on that theme.

The reason was very obvious: The Turkish military government is terrified of the prospect of an Islamic revolution in Turkey.

In its broadcast on 7 September, Radio Ankara reported that Armenian terrorists have chosen Athens as the springboard of their operations. Then, referring to ASALA, the radio said that following the Orly incident divisions have emerged in that organization between opposing factions and that these divisions have led to the secession of certain groups from the organization.

The radio did not forget to reiterate that Armenians also condemn terrorist acts without specifying (deliberately) the kinds of acts that the Armenians deplore.

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**ARMENIAN AFFAIRS**

**TURKISH PAPER QUOTES MUSAVI AS SAYING 'ARMENIANS MISUSE RIGHTS'**

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 22 Sep 83 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Iran's Prime Minister: 'Armenians Abuse Their Rights of a Minority'"]

[Text] In today's issue of MILLIYET, Murat Bardach continues his series of articles on Persian Armenians, with an interview with Iran's prime minister, Mir Hosein Musavi-Khamenei. During the interview Musavi stated that the Armenians are taking advantage of those minority rights which are given to them by the Constitution. If this situation continues, Prime Minister Musavi stated, measures which are being taken against other terrorist groups will also be taken against Armenians.

Elsewhere in the interview Musavi stated that the Iran-Iraq war shall in no way take a detrimental course toward Turkey.

The MILLIYET correspondent mentioned that a number of ASALA members are using Iranian passports, that the French embassy in Tehran has been repeatedly attacked, and asked what steps Iran is considering taking against such incidents. Musavi replied: "We know that ASALA and similar organizations are terrorist organizations, and we are against such terrorist organizations. It is our impression that the rights recognized for the Armenians by the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran are being abused. If this continues, and if we see that the prevailing atmosphere of freedom is being exploited by the Armenians, we shall take a number of measures." Iran's Prime Minister Musavi later asked the MILLIYET correspondent to convey to the Turkish people the feelings of affection which the Iranian people have for them.

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CSO: 4605/6

**MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT OUTLINES STEPS TO SPUR INVESTMENT**

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 764, 5 Sep 83 pp 12-14

[Article: "New Climate to Promote Investment Activity; Minister of Investment Explains the New Policies of the Investment Sector for the Coming Phase"]

[Text] Dr Wajih Shindi, minister of international investment and cooperation, announced that his ministry is in the midst of issuing a number of new decisions aimed at stimulating interaction between investors and the investment sector. The new decisions are part of a policy aimed at attracting more foreign capital into investment projects, stimulating local participation in this field, and granting special concessions to investors in this area. The measures are aimed especially at capital channeled into projects listed in the 5-year plan, projects proposed by the government sectors, or projects with traditionally high priority such as housing, food security, land reclamation, and the like.

The minister of investment explained that the new decisions were preceded by a broad study of the investment climate and the problems facing it, the formulation of a new philosophy of action, and the creation of new policies to achieve these goals.

The new philosophy of action specified five successive phases that are being carried out to make the investment climate better suited to promoting investment activity in Egypt. The five stages are as follows:

**Policies and Measures**

Internal housekeeping and operation according to definite and clearly delineated regulations; the setting of definite deadlines for approval of projects with the grouping of projects that need to be promoted; the formulation of an investment map for Egypt; and transition from a policy of receiving investment requests to a phase of activity promoting investment opportunities in Egypt.

To achieve these goals, a group of new policies have been adopted and organizational and procedural rules governing methods of operation have been changed.

### **Egyptians Given First Consideration**

The minister of investment said that the new policies are based on a number of principles. The first of these is that the Egyptian is entitled to first consideration. This is founded on a belief in the importance of creating a national private sector capable of participating in investment projects with both Arab and foreign investors, taking into consideration the fact that approximately 65 percent of all investments made under Law No 43 are actually owned by Egyptians. The ministry adopted the principle that "the Egyptian investor deserves first consideration: so that the Egyptian investor enjoys all the incentives provided by the investment law so long as the investment has been approved by the organization. Therefore, Law No 159 of 1981 governing new companies was put into effect through the printing and publication of the executive regulations of the law, the preparation of the necessary forms for the establishment of new companies, the obtaining of the state's approval, and the publication of the forms.

### **No Conflict Between Investment Project and National Welfare**

Dr Wajih Shindi added: "The serious investor aims at investing his ideas and money in the projects Egypt needs within the framework of the economic development plan, and this yields a return for him. In this way he achieves national goals because of increased work opportunities and a higher level of national production. This results in a decreased reliance on importation from abroad and increased export opportunities."

This led to the development of a new concept whose underlying idea is that there is no conflict between the investment project and the national interest as long as the project falls within the framework of the economic and social development plan and adheres in its implementation to the stipulations issued when it was approved.

### **No Retroactive Measure**

In recognition of the importance of stable economic decisions and the creation of a suitable climate with a large degree of confidence, the board of directors of the General Investment Authority has adopted a decision that no new retroactive decision will be made. This rule is necessary to ensure stable centers and promote investment activity in the future.

### **Setting the Value of Capital**

In order to overcome the problems that have faced some investors in setting the equivalent value in Egyptian pounds of foreign currency capital used in investment products, a decision was adopted which makes it sufficient to set the value of capital for investment projects under Law No 43 in foreign currencies when the capital is paid entirely in these currencies and is actually transferred from abroad.

### **Changing the Capital-to-Loans Ratio**

The board of directors of the General Investment Authority formerly adopted a decision that the capital-to-loans ratio could not exceed 1:1 without differentiating between types of activity and small versus large projects. In order to attract additional investments for production projects involving large economic entities, the aforementioned decision has been changed so that large projects whose investment costs exceed 5 million pounds can borrow up to 65 percent of these costs.

### **Releasing the Percentage of Egyptian Participation in Investment Companies**

At the time applications for the establishment of investment companies were being studied, the Investment Authority acted on the basis that Egyptian participation in the capital of such companies could not be less than 40 percent. However, it has recently been decided not to adhere to set percentages of Egyptian participation in such companies.

### **Principle of Tax Exemptions**

In order to facilitate the creation of strong economic entities capable of high-volume production, a principle of granting approved tax exemptions for increased investments in projects included under the investment law has been approved. However, this exemption will not apply again to the original capital that was invested previously and enjoyed a tax exemption in the past.

### **Quality and Price Control**

One of the principles that was approved as a general policy with regard to projects included under the investment law is that the standard specifications set by the Egyptian government to ensure quality control must be applied to all products produced by these projects. Moreover, so long as the inputs to the production process are not in categories supported by the government, the production generally will not be subject to price control. However, the General Investment Authority retains the right to review the project if the prices of its products exceed appropriate and acceptable limits based on the estimates appearing in the cost-benefit study submitted by the project.

### **Serious Organization Requires Serious Investor**

One principle that was established is the importance of concentrating on the serious investor. Approval of a project is a license to implement a project, not a license to discontinue an investment. Consequently, the investor must take earnest steps toward implementation for a period of 6 months from the date of approval according to the stipulations contained in the law or else the approval for the project will be withdrawn. However, it has been decided to offer the investor an additional 6-month delay with the approval of the deputy chairman of the organization followed by 6 more months with the approval of the chairman of the board of the organization. After this the matter will be submitted to the board of directors for the necessary decision to be made.

In addition, the board of directors decided to withdraw approval of the project departs from its basic goals.

#### **Contracting Companies Allowed to Lease Necessary Machinery and Equipment for Their Operations**

In the past, contracting projects faced customs problems when they began to import some specialized machinery and equipment they needed to implement some of their operations through leasing from specialized international companies. In order to overcome these problems, these companies will now be permitted to lease the specialized machinery and equipment necessary for their operations after they meet the capital requirements set forth in the economic study.

#### **Activity of Contracting Companies Will Not Be Restricted to a Certain Volume of Work**

It has also been decided not to restrict the activity of contracting companies to a certain volume of work in light of the difficulty of projecting the volume of work that can be engaged on the condition that the volume of work be actual and supported by official records.

#### **Adherence to International Procedures by the Investment Authority**

Based on the ministry's belief that successful action demands the adoption of definite timetables, it has been decided to apply international procedures within the organization. Letters of complaint will be answered immediately upon receipt and the complaints will be met with results after the matter has been studied. All communications will be answered by the same means by which they were sent. A time limit for reply to various letters and telexes will be set and notes will be kept.

#### **Housekeeping**

So that work can be accomplished with the desired efficiency and speed within the General Investment Authority and duplication of effort can be eliminated, Dr Wajih Shindi said that it was necessary to apply the law of small numbers in order to conduct housekeeping from within. According to this method, the work is distributed among small specialized groups each of which has a well defined role in the overall effort. This will prevent an excess amount of labor from becoming an obstacle to work or reducing efficiency.

#### **Tying Incentives to Volume of Production and Speed of Performance**

In order to facilitate the application of modern principles of administration within the organization, to develop the level of service, and to achieve the highest possible degree of efficiency and speed of implementation, a new system of incentives has been put into effect for employees of the organization. This system distinguishes between those

who work efficiently and rapidly accordint to scheduled deadlines and those who do not. This system has actually been in effect since the beginning of December 1982. So that the goals can be achieved, successful attainment is based on the ability and efficiency of the human element.

#### **Application of Decentralized Decision Making**

In order to achieve rapid decision making to overcome investor's complaints about the lengthiness of procedures, the decision was made to stress the use of the powers of delegation granted to the chairman and deputy chairman of the board of the General Investment Authority in order to achieve decentralized investment decision making and speed up the process of deciding on projects submitted to the organization. The chairman of the board of the organization now has the right to approve projects whose capital exceeds 5 million pounds providing that the project falls within the framework of the development plan and has been approved by the responsible technical authorities.

#### **Facilitating the Participation of the Financial Institutions in Investment Projects**

The specialized financial institutions have played an active role in stimulating investment activity as specialists in accumulating savings and investing them in high-priority projects within the development plan. In view of this role, the prime minister has agreed to exempt state-owned banks and insurance companies from having to obtain his approval before participating in new investment companies and to require only that they abide by the procedures appearing in their laws of establishment.

#### **Establishment of a Set Work System Within the Organization to Eliminate Bureaucracy**

The leaders of the organization believe that it is important to institute a step-by-step system of operation that will be followed from the submission of the investment application through the final decision on the application. Such a system prevents personal judgements from allowing the approval of a certain project in one instance and the rejection of a similar project in another. A committee of Egyptian experts has been selected to propose such a working system. In addition, international experts from the World Bank's International Finance Corporation have been called upon to review this system. The system has now been approved and efforts to implement it are under way.

#### **Investment Authority Is Sole Agency To Deal With the Investor**

In order that the General Investment Authority can be proficient in its role as the state's agent to the investor and can become the sole agency that the investor deals with, the High Committee for Economic Policies and Affairs adopted a decision stating that investment projects will be decided on during meetings of the organization's board of directors which includes representatives of the concerned economic sectors in the state without the necessity of undertaking communications with these sectors, which results in delays in obtaining an opinion.

To help the investor receive all the necessary information in the investment application, a specialized branch has been established within the Investment Organization to aid the investor in completing the investment application by receiving the application with all information provided in full.

**Adherence to Set Period (4 Months) for Decision Making**

The ministry believes it is important to have a step-by-step work plan within the framework of definite deadlines for each step to ensure that a project submitted to the organization is approved or rejected within a set period of time. To accomplish this, the ministry has instituted a system that guarantees that a decision will be reached within an average of 120 days. This system was developed by a group of Egyptian experts and approved by experts of the International Finance Corporation consulted for this purpose.

8591  
CSO: 4504/5

**WAFD COMMUNIQUE REFUTES PARTIES COMMITTEE DECISION**

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 5 Sep 83 p 3

[Article: Wafd Party Is Steadfast In Its Position]

[Text] The Higher Authority of the New Wafd Party held a meeting the day before yesterday in the palace of Siraj-al-Din in Garden City as a continuation of the meeting which was held in Alexandria last Monday. The High Commission discussed the official statement of the Committee for Political Parties Affairs in which it announced that the New Wafd Party had disbanded itself based on a decision issued by the general assembly of the party on 2 June 1978 and it did not have the right to recommence activities.

The following persons attended the meeting of the Higher Authority of the New Wafd party: Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, chairman of the party; Dr Wahid Ra'fat, deputy chairman of the party; Dr Ni'man Jum'ah, secretary-general of the party; 'Ali Salama, Kamal Sa'd, 'Abd-al-Mun'im Husay, 'Ulwi Hafiz, Tal'at Ruslan, Ahmad, Nasir, Karam Zaydan, former members of the People's Assembly; Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, member of the People's Assembly; Engineer 'Abd al-Khalil al-Shanawi, former minister of irrigation; Mu'awad al-Baz; Ahmad Abaza, former member of the Council of Notables; Dr Muhammad Bilal; Shafiq al-Din al-Muhami, former member of the Chamber of Deputies; Anwar Ahmad, previously undersecretary of the Ministry of Social Affairs; Dr 'Abdallah 'Adli Bibawi, former head of the pharmacists association; Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid Hashish; Muhammad 'Zid al-Muhamiyan.

The Higher Authority of the party prepared an official statement in the end of the meeting responding to the decision of the Parties Affairs Committee, chaired by Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim. The authority defined the steps which will follow the issuance of the statement, and the Higher Authority resolved to keep those pursuant measures secret. The meeting lasted for 2 hours, and the text of the official statement follows:

As soon as the New Wafd Party issued its official statement on 21 August 1983, announcing its decision to suspend activities and then to recommence them in accordance with its internal by-laws and program previously acknowledged by the Parties Affairs Committee in February 1978 and which was legal and within the provisions of the Constitution, the Political Parties Committee, composed

the majority of leaders of the ruling National Democratic Party, rushed to issue its official statement dated 26 August 1983 affirming that the New Wafd Party had disbanded itself on 2 June 1978 by a resolution of its general assembly and that it is incumbent upon it to take measures outlined in the Political Parties Law for the formation of a new party. The Parties Committee based its opinion on incomplete information and did not have all the resolutions issued by the party in the matter.

The New Wafd Party announces the following facts:

--On 2 June 1978 the general assembly resolved to disband the party due to the impracticability of political action in the conditions of that time.

--On 3 June 1978 the chairman of the party informed the Parties Affairs Council of this decision.

--When this decision was submitted to the Higher Authority of the party on 6 June 1978, they vetoed it and were content with suspending the party's political activities which was in accordance with its rights set down in Article 19 of its internal by-laws which states "resolutions of the general assembly are considered to be final if the Higher Authority does not request their review during 15 days following their issuance, and in this case the submission is reviewed again by the general assembly and its decision is final."

It goes without saying that if the chairman of the party offers the resolution of the general assembly to the Political Affairs Council the day after its issuance, then the Higher Authority does not lose the right to veto it as long as the veto is used during the legal period.

--The Parties Affairs Council did not sanction the dissolution resolution and did not consider it as finally irrevocable, when its president Dr Mustafa Khalil requested a response in writing responding to the notification and giving him a copy of the minutes from the meeting of the general assembly which issued the dissolution resolution as well as the names of the members who had attended it. However, there was no chance for the party's chairman to respond to the request after the issuance of the High Commission's decision vetoing the dissolution but suspending party activities.

For the same reason, party funds were not liquidated, and its cash balance remained on deposit in a special account under the name of the New Wafd Party in the Bank of Cairo. The bank statement for this account has been sent monthly until the present time.

--On 6 May 1983 the Higher Authority for the party resolved to end the suspension of its activities and called the general assembly to review its decision issued on 2 June 1978 to disband the party.

--On 23 August 1983, the general assembly convened and responded to the objection of the Higher Authority to the disbandment resolution and it, too, agreed to the termination of the suspension and the renewal of activities.

**The party did not inform the Parties Affairs Committee about the renunciation of the disbandment resolution, converting it to a suspension for the following reasons:**

**Firstly:**

The party is not obligated by law to make this announcement, since article 16 of law number 40, 1977, dealing with parties, does not require the party to make notification except under the four circumstances listed, and the conversion of a disbandment to a suspension of activities is not one of them.

These four conditions are:

- change of party chairman
- change of internal organization
- merger of one party with another
- disbandment of the party.

**Secondly:**

The political atmosphere prevalent at the time, the violent campaign to which the party and leadership were exposed by the late President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, himself, and which campaign expressed the intention which he was plotting, to disband the party. He revealed this intention in his speech broadcast directly after the mentioned announcement, and alluding to it, he said, "Thank God, they have saved me the trouble, they have agreed on a measure I was intending to take..." By this he meant that if the party had announced a change of the resolution from dissolution to suspension, the president of the country would have opposed it totally.

In and of themselves the precautions carried out by the High Commission show its objection to the general assembly at the time, especially when article 19 of the by-laws does not indicate a specific period for this demonstration.

The party strove to keep the dissolution resolution prominent before the president of the country to avoid his disbanding it by executive order, and the resolution to suspend activities offered this protection. At the same time the Higher Authority used the right authorized by the above-mentioned article 19 within the legal time period to maintain the legal existence of the party, and it delayed the revelation of these facts until the time when the party would not run the risk of this hazard.

The New Wafd Party has been wanting the Parties Affairs Council to consider the recommencement of the party's political activities in wider scope, more in accordance with the democratic political atmosphere which has prevailed in the country since the coming to power of President Muhammad Husni Mubarak; texts of laws and procedural measures are not everything. It has escaped its comprehension that the present parties came into existence based on a declaration by the late president of the republic in November 1976 in violation of the fifth article of the constitution, which decreed that the Arab Socialist Union was the only political organization in Egypt. In the matter of protection of

national unity, Law 34 of 1974 also forbade the creation of political organizations or public organizations outside of the Socialist Union, and those violating this prohibition by creating such organizations or by joining them were punishable by imprisonment.

Despite these unequivocal prohibitive texts, parties were created and they practised their activities, and then they were organized by Law 40 in 1977, the issuance of which was also in violation of the constitution's fifth article before the constitution was amended in April 1980, in recognition of this reality and bestowing legality upon it.

This is significant, because it shows that practical and political reality often precede constitutional or legal texts, and the former necessitates the latter, for law was created for society and for man and not vice versa.

It is not unknown to the Parties Committee that the absence of the New Wafd Party from the political scene for 8 years since June 1978 is not a result of an obligatory legal judgement or an executive order, but it was based on the party's decision as already mentioned under special circumstances, and it is also the right of the party after the complete change of circumstances as well as the stability of the change to review its previous resolution and to renew its activities.

A change in conditions and relations can bring down the right of international agreements, so what do we think of the renunciation of a political resolution by those who issued it, after the reasons for it had dissipated, and the renunciation has no significance to the rights of others, nor does it cause any harm to the public good, nor does it violate any evident laws in the present legal system.

From all that has been brought forward, it becomes plainly clear, that the New Wafd Party did not lose for one single day its legal identity since its founding in 1978, and its 21 August 1983 announcement of the renewal of its activities was in accordance with its internal organization and with the law and it was hoped that the Political Affairs Committee would welcome back the New Wafd's renewed activities as a commitment to democracy in order to participate with the other parties in the building of the nation and the solving of its problems.

The New Wafd Party believes that if all the facts contained in this declaration were set before the Parties Committee, it would come around to the point of view of the party so as to be in step with the constitution in letter and spirit and so as to be in agreement with the principles of democracy.

The Wafd, drawing strength and succor from Allah and support from the faithful people, announces its firm determination to progress on its road within the limits of constitutional legality and the law in order to accomplish its national mission.

12390  
CSO: 4504/592

VARIOUS FACETS OF CAIRO'S WASTE PROBLEM EXPLORED

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3071, 19 Aug 83 pp 20-24

[Article by 'Abd-al-Tawwab 'Abd-al-Hayy: "The Search for Subsidy Money in Garbage Cans"]

[Text] 400 million Egyptian pounds worth of bread subsidy money is being spent on feeding non-human stomachs.

The road to the garbage dumps of Cairo is covered with "Black Label" whiskey cartons.

It is no wonder that, due to the commerce in live pigs, pigs are riding around in Mercedes.

Egypt, in its garbage, is squandering 37 million Egyptian pounds worth of organic fertilizer elements every year.

In the garbage of merchants and craftsmen one finds the remains of controversial merchandise, and in the garbage of [government] employees one finds "consumer collective meat" bags.

Every time the sun comes up, Cairo produces 4,200 tons of garbage. Private garbage collectors pick up 1,500 tons of this total, and the other 2,700 tons are collected by municipal sanitation workers from the low-income neighborhoods. Just as people have a given status in life, so does the garbage in their garbage cans. The contents of garbage cans vary from one section of the city to another. Each garbage can reflects the consumption pattern of its owner and tells whether or not he is rich or poor. Garbage cans contain both loaves of locally-made popular bread and the Syrian-type bread made in automated bakeries. They also contain choice bits of bread and the leftover of first-rate "toast" which have not been eaten and have consequently spoiled. In the garbage cans one also finds rice, macaroni, bones, and the remains of fat and meat. In the final analysis, all of this garbage ends up together in the pigsties at the garbage dumps.

This garbage represents part of our national wealth--that is, your money and mine--which is being wasted. How would it be possible to put it to good use? Scientific and field studies dealing with this matter show us thousands of paths to follow instead of the one we are following right now.

However, the road to Cairo's garbage dumps is covered with "Rabso" [soap detergent] and "Black Label" whiskey cartons, ragged pieces of fabric material, old slippers, and dirt. All of these things cover the road "like a layer of asphalt."

A general fact: At any dinner party which is given in the home of any Englishman, there is a certain system which is followed. The system is that you take your plate and serve yourself. It is up to you to take your dinner plate and serve yourself exactly the amount of food that you intend to eat. If anyone catches you leaving any food on your plate, he gives you a look which betrays a feeling of disapproval and accusation. By giving you this look he is telling you that you have bad taste, that there is no excuse for what you are doing, and that you have no proper appreciation for the economic value of food.

A particular fact: (Ovidio) Salazar is a man whose father is an American, whose mother came from Guatemala, and who became a Muslim. I met him in the mosque at the Islamic Center in the Regent Park area of London. He was performing his afternoon prayers with the deliberateness of a worshipper who spends the whole night praying. We became acquainted. After he became a Muslim, he changed his name to "'Abd-al-Latif Salazar." I was overjoyed and impressed by the fervor of his belief, so I invited him to drink afternoon tea with me. The place we went to was a Pakistani pastry shop on Brompton Road. We both had a piece of pastry along with our tea. I ate my piece of pastry with a fork, whereas he used his fingers. He said "According to the Sunna [sayings and doings] of the Prophet, one's fingers are one's spoon and fork. Is this not so?" But the surprise came when, after he had eaten his piece of pastry, he proceeded to gather together the crumbs with his index finger and then to lick them off his finger. He then said: "Do not be surprised. The crumbs are a blessing. Islam forbids us to waste this blessing. Besides, we will be paying for the crumbs when we pay our bill now."

He taught me a lesson. However, I did not really learn the lesson and adopt it as a practice. In the garbage can next to the door of my apartment I still notice both partially-eaten and whole loaves of bread. I also see the leftovers of rice and macaroni mixed up with bones and the remains of fat and meat. All of us do this. We throw our money into the garbage can. Then we are awakened at night by the sound of cats meowing and fighting each other for the food in the garbage cans. There are many stray cats and dogs in the low-income areas because there is so much food for them in the garbage cans. It has also become a familiar sight to see goatherds leading their goats in the piles of garbage there. The side streets of our city have become pastures in the middle of town!

## The City of Garbage

In Cairo there are six main garbage dumps. One of the largest ones is the Manshiyat Nasir garbage dump at the foot of Jabal al-Muqattam [al-Mugattam mountain] across from the Citadel. This garbage dump is a whole city unto itself which is the home of 18,000 garbage collectors and their families. There one also finds more than 6,000 wooden garbage carts, with each one capable of carrying half a ton of garbage. In the wintertime each garbage cart is pulled by two donkeys, but they add a third donkey to each cart during the summertime because there is more garbage then and the load is heavier. There is also the Abu-al-Sapud garbage dump in Old Cairo [misr al-qadimah], behind the al-Fustat mosque. About 4,000 garbage collectors work and live there, and they own 1,500 wooden garbage carts. There is also a third garbage dump in al-Tabbin which serves the Hulwan area, and a fourth garbage dump is located at the 4-kilometer marker on the Suez highway which serves the area of Heliopolis [misr al-jadidah]. In addition to these garbage dumps, there is the al-Mu'tamadiyah garbage dump behind the Imbaba airport in al-Jizah, which serves the Engineers' City [madinat al-muhandisin], al-Duqqi, and al-Zamalik, and the 'Arab al-Tawayilah garbage dump near Abu-Za'bal which is the collecting point for the garbage from 'Ayn Shams, al-Amiriyyah, and the eastern suburbs of Cairo.

The road to the (Manshiyat) Nasir garbage dump is covered with "Rabso" and "Black Label" whiskey cartons, ragged pieces of fabric material, old slippers and dirt. The cartons, rags, and slippers cover the road like a layer of asphalt. Also, there are innumerable dogs around. One also finds donkeys, goats, ducks, and geese, and all of them are poking around the garbage dump as if they were invited to a banquet. The houses there are obviously miserable places to live. They have been built without permits and there is no pattern to how they were built. The main street there curls around like a huge snake which is coiled up and ready to attack its victim. There is also a sign there which says, in very bad writing: "We will soon be opening the 'Modern Barbershop.'" Garbage carts pulled by their three donkeys are constantly coming and going. A fire burns in the huge piles of wastepaper which are mixed up with old automobile tires, and the fire soars up to the sky of the area like a permanent cloud of black smoke. If you go in the direction of the suffocating smoke, you will be hit by the smell of the rotten garbage and the droppings left behind by the pigs.

Shahatah Ibrahim Shahatah is a garbage collector who is also a student of law at [the University of] Cairo. He told us the following: "The food in the garbage has been found to be 60 percent bread, rice, macaroni, leftovers from vegetables and fruits, and watermelon rinds. This is the most valuable part of the garbage, and all of it is fed to the pigs. Each garbage collector has his own pigsty. Some of them raise 50 pigs, and in the pigsties of others you might even find 500 pigs. The latter ones are owned by the large-scale pig merchants, and most of them monopolize the garbage of the high-class hotels. A female pig gets pregnant twice a year. Each litter contains about 8 to 10 piglets. Within a single year the weight of a [newborn] pig goes up to 50 or 60 kilograms. Pigs multiply at a very high rate, just like rabbits, only they are larger and their meat is different.

There are four merchants who monopolize the pig trade in Cairo. They are Ahmad al-Raqbawi, Murqus, Isra'il 'Ayyad, and Fu'ad Basha. "Basha" [Arabic for "pasha"] is his name, but it might just as well be a title of his. All of them are millionaires. They buy the pigs from the garbage collectors who raise them at a gross weight price of 30 piasters per kilogram, and they sell the pigs at a price of between 3 and 8 Egyptian pounds [per kilogram]. The price of ham is not the same as the price of mortadella cheese, and the price of cured meat is higher than the price of 'feathers.'" An old garbage collector also told me: "The smallest of these families is riding around in a pig Mercedes. Every day it comes around here and scatters dust on us. It is no wonder, sue to the commerce in live pigs, that pigs are riding around in Mercedes."

They make natural fertilizer from the organic remains of the food in the garbage. A garbage collector at the Manshiyat Nasir dump pointed to a pile of fertilizer in front of his house and said: "This is the best fertilizer for reclaimed land and fruit orchards. However, we cannot find anyone to buy it. If we did find anyone to buy it, a transport cart would come and take it away for 10 Egyptian pounds." However, another garbage collector at the Abu-al-Sa'ud garbage dump confided to me the fact that he sells a 5-ton cartload [of such fertilizer] for 80 Egyptian pounds. There are always people such as watermelon and fruit growers in Ismailia and al-Sharqiyah who want to buy natural fertilizer.

Inside each large garbage dump, each garbage collector has his own private dump. The process of sorting out the garbage is done by the members of his family, especially the women and the boys. One 11-year-old boy by the name of 'Abd-al-Masih, who was smoking a Cleopatra cigarette, held out his arms to show me his scars. He said: "My arm gets all cut up by razor blades, pieces of metal, and pieces of glass. Every day I go to the pharmacy and there they give me a shot in return for 1 Egyptian pound." Probably the shot is for tetanus, and perhaps it is an antibiotic.

For them, only the leftovers from food and natural fertilizer have any economic value. Or, at least, that is what they claim. The paper is burned. When the Suez Canal was closed, paper used to be sold to the (Rakita) Company and other private paper-manufacturing plants. But now there is no market for paper and no one wants to pay any price for it. The same is true for bones, rags, plastic materials, glass, nylon bags, tin cans, and other scraps of metal. If they are right about this, then a great deal of wealth is being wasted. The government subsidizes bread to the tune of 800 million Egyptian pounds. Nevertheless, our bakeries produce bread of bad quality. Most of the consumers eat only the middle part of the loaf and throw the rest of it in the garbage can. Most of them buy more than they need, such that it has become a common sight to see a person who is baking bread to come away from the ovens where the bread is made, taking with him 1,000 pieces of bread, or 50 loaves, on a board made of palm branches. When you see such a person, you think that he is selling bread rather than buying it. Actually, he is buying more bread than his family really needs in order to make up for the fact that there is a difference in the quality of [the individual loaves of the] bread and is buying it because it is so

cheap. Even the bread from automated bakeries suffers as a result of technical production problems there which lead to the fact that the bread quickly becomes stale and dry. If you do not eat this bread on the first day, at the end of the day you can use it as a weapon against one of your enemies and cause him to bleed. Animal breeders like to buy the bread as food for their cattle and fodder for their poultry because the price of the bread is so low. Because of all of these above-mentioned factors, experts assure us that at least 50 percent of the bread subsidy--that is, 400 million Egyptian pounds--ends up being spent on food for non-human stomachs.

In order to put a stop to this foolish waste, it is necessary to revise our method of making bread. We need to have loaves of bread which are well-made and wrapped in a way which keeps them from becoming dirty and from becoming stale and dry. We need to have loaves of bread which are completely eaten. We need to have such bread, even though we might be forced to raise its price. If a loaf of bread is expensive and well-made, the result will be that there will be consumption control and the burden on the shoulders of both individuals and the state budget will be alleviated.

#### Facts and Figures Concerning the Garbage

A study conducted in 1980 by the Land and Water Research Institute at the Agricultural Research Center, in cooperation with a U.S. work group, showed that the average amount of garbage thrown out per individual per day in Egypt ranges from half a kilogram to 3 kilograms. This comes to a total of between 183 and 1,098 kilograms per year. At the same time, the average amount of garbage thrown out each year per individual in Los Angeles is 405 kilograms, in Frankfurt it is 275 kilograms, in Geneva it is 215 kilograms, and in Bombay it is 385 kilograms. The average amount of garbage per year worldwide is 200 kilograms.

The city of Cairo produces 4,200 tons of garbage every day. Private garbage collectors pick up 1,500 tons of this total, and the other 2,700 tons are collected by municipal sanitation workers from the low-income neighborhoods which do not hire private garbage collectors. This is why you find a government garbage dump next to every private garbage dump in Cairo's garbage dumps.

The study also made a scientific analysis of the garbage from Egypt's streets and households and found that 90.74 percent of Egypt's garbage consists of organic matter. This organic matter includes the leftovers of vegetables (66.06 percent), bread (2.17 percent), scraps and rags (3.15 percent), and paper (19 percent). In addition to this organic matter, 2.59 percent of the contents of the garbage consists of crumbled stone and dirt fragments. Also, 2.34 percent of the garbage consists of organic matter which does not decompose rapidly, such as plastic, leather, and bones. And finally, 4.16 percent of the garbage is glass and various other hard substances.

#### The Plant Is in Bad Shape

Dr Muhammad Nabil 'Ala'-al-Din, head of the Microbiology Research Division at the Agricultural Research Center, says that Egypt's garbage represents a waste of 37 million Egyptian pounds worth of fertilizer components and organic substances. This total was broken down as follows: 37,700 tons of nitrogen worth 15 million Egyptian pounds, 26,000 tons of phosphate worth 8.5 million Egyptian pounds, 23,000 tons of potassium worth 9 million Egyptian pounds, and 715,000 tons of various other organic substances worth 4.3 million Egyptian pounds. When all of this is added together, it equals exactly 36.8 million Egyptian pounds--that is, enough organic matter to fertilize 400,000 feddans of reclaimed land for a year. This is a source of wealth which we are squandering when we burn it and send pollution up into the sky. Egypt only has one plant for the manufacturing of fertilizer from garbage. It is the plant in Shubra which is known as the "'Abbud plant." This plant is an old and broken-down one, and its useful life ended 10 years ago. But there is a story behind this plant.

The plant was constructed 45 years ago on the basis of a royal decree which bore the signatures of King Faruq, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Gaffar Pasha, the minister of agriculture, Ibrahim 'Abd-al-Hadi Pasha, the minister of finance, and Mahmud Fahmi al-Naqashishi, the prime minister. The capital provided for the plant totaled 127,000 Egyptian pounds. Implementation of the project was entrusted to the al-Sharq [Eastern] Fertilizer Company of Beirut and the British firm called the Wesley Holding Company, under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture. The moving force behind the establishment of the plant was Dr Ahmad Riyad, head of the Chemical Division in the Ministry of Agriculture. He was Egypt's pioneer in the field of producing organic fertilizer from garbage.

The plant began operating in 1950 and kept on operating at full capacity--that is, it produced 400 tons of fertilizer per day--till 1960. The operation of the plant relied on manual sorting of the garbage, then putting it in towers where it fermented, and then stirring and turning the garbage over by means of [mechanical] arms attached to a central pivot apparatus which was run by electricity. But then the type of garbage changed and it was necessary to change the system of operation of the plant so that it could keep on working. By now the plant is in bad shape. Its production has gone down to 25 tons per day, and most of its fermentation towers and machinery are out of order. However, Yusuf Sabri Abu-Talib, the governor of Cairo, recently appropriated the necessary funds to renovate the plant's machinery in order to bring its production up to half of what it was designed to do. A loan from Switzerland amounting to 1.5 million Egyptian pounds will be utilized to construct an experimental plant next to this old plant, and the production capacity of the experimental plant will be 40 tons per day. In addition to this, another experimental plant is being contracted to be built in Madinat al-Salam [the city of peace]. Its production capacity will be 50 tons a day, and it is being made possible by a loan of 2 million Egyptian pounds from Denmark. If operation of these experimental plants turns out to be a success, then more such plants will be built. In fact, in this case, a plant will be built at the edge of each section of Cairo, and each plant will produce fertilizer from the garbage of each of these sections of the city--and Cairo has 12 such sections.

The experts all agree that Egypt's garbage is one of the richest types of garbage in the world in terms of organic matter. The importance of organic fertilizer lies in the fact that it has the ability to establish and enrich plants in reclaimed land. Egypt has a total of 840,000 feddans of such reclaimed land. Each of these feddans of land requires, on the average, a total of 105 cubic meters of organic fertilizer per year. In other words, 5 million tons are required for all of Egypt's reclaimed land areas. Dr 'Ala-al-Din also added another dimension to the importance of organic fertilizer produced from garbage when he said the following: "It is not only reclaimed lands that need organic fertilizer. The Nile valley lands also need it, especially after they have been deprived of the silt from the Nile. The total area of the Nile valley lands is 6 million feddans. The estimated production of organic fertilizers from garbage would be enough to fertilize 400,000 feddans per year. That is, it would be possible to fertilize all of Egypt's cultivated land once every 15 years with this fertilizer.

"With regard to the economics of manufacturing fertilizer from garbage, studies have demonstrated that, when the simple technology involved in fermentation is utilized, the cost per ton will total 3,400 Egyptian pounds. This means that, for example, in the case of a plant whose capacity is 1,000 tons, the cost of constructing the plant will be 3.4 million Egyptian pounds. However, if advanced technology is utilized, the cost per ton jumps up to 9,300 Egyptian pounds. This means that a plant with a capacity of 1,000 tons will cost 9.3 million Egyptian pounds to build, and this is an enormous cost. If we add to this the risks of advanced technology and the fact that such technology is not suitable for our local conditions as far as operation and maintenance are concerned, then the simpler technology, from the practical point of view, becomes the best option. However, in our plan for the construction of plants which manufacture fertilizers from garbage, we must bear in mind the fact that the plants should be located relatively far away from the city limits. Also, each plant must only process the garbage which comes from the city [of Cairo]. In order to cut down on transport costs, we must not bring garbage from other cities to these plants."

#### Each Social Class Has Its Own Type of Garbage

It is possible to produce electricity from the natural gas which results from the burning of garbage, after the removal of the organic substances necessary for the manufacture of fertilizers, in special furnaces. It costs 20,000 Egyptian pounds to burn a ton of garbage. The cost of constructing a plant which burns 1,000 tons of garbage per day is 20 million Egyptian pounds, and the cost of producing each kilowatt-hour of electrical power in such a plant ranges between 15 and 25 milliemes.

It is possible to produce biogas from garbage. Studies conducted by the Agricultural Research Center have shown that, from the total amount of garbage collected every day by the municipal sanitation workers in Cairo alone—2,700 tons—it is possible to extract enough biogas to cover the daily requirements for between 50,000 and 60,000 persons. In addition to this, the garbage also yields enough organic fertilizer to fertilize 100,000 feddans of land per year.

Studies have also shown that the quantities of bread thrown in the garbage constitute only 2.15 percent [of the garbage] nationwide, and they have shown that an annual average of 175 kilograms of wheat per individual in Egypt is not consumed by human beings. The bakeries of Cairo, for example, produce 100 million loaves of bread per day, and Cairo has a population of 10 million. The average consumption is 6 loaves a day per individual, and this means that each individual consumes 2 loaves at every meal. This means that the total human consumption is 60 million loaves of bread per day. To this one must add the fact that 2.15 million loaves of bread are thrown in the garbage cans. This leaves about 37.85 million loaves of bread which are unaccounted for. But one thing is for sure, and it is the fact that this bread goes into non-human stomachs--that is, it is eaten by cattle and poultry. Individuals have a particular social status, and so do their garbage cans. The contents of the garbage cans differ from one section of the city to another, and each garaage can is a reflection of the consumption pattern of its owner, because there are both rich people and poor people.

A study made by the National Institute of Planning concerning "nutritional awareness" and "food security" which was conducted by Ahmad Darwish and supervised by Dr Sa'd 'Allam has shown that, until the end of the sixties, there were only slight differences between the contents in garbage cans. The real differences first emerged as a result of the feverish consumption engaged in by people in many of the categories of our society who suddenly became rich. Those at the top of this list were the merchants and craftsmen. In their garbage one finds the leftovers of controversial items such as the peelings of imported bananas and fruits, whiskey cartons, various types of choice cheese, imported cigarettes, the leftovers of vegetables such as okra which have been eaten during the beginning of their season when they cost 5 Egyptian pounds per kilogram, and the leftovers of fruits such as watermelons and mangoes which have been eaten in the middle of the winter--which is not their season at all.

The contents of garbage cans from the high-income areas of Cairo mostly reveal canned goods, nylon bags for keeping meat in refrigerators, and the feathers of local chickens and ducks. One finds few vegetable leftovers, but one finds a lot of fruit leftovers. The contents of the garbage cans of people from the low-income areas of the city show that they cook every day and that they mostly do not cook meat. They show that these people prefer freshly-cooked food because they do not have refrigerators in which to keep food. This is why their garbage is full of leftovers from vegetables as well as the remains of stale food, whereas their garbage contains no processed canned food and has very little in the way of leftovers from fruit, with the exception of watermelon rinds during the summer watermelon season.

The contents of the garbage cans of [government] employees are unique. Their garbage cans are relatively empty during most of the days of the week, except for sandwich bags--and their sandwiches mostly contain fava beans [ful] and fried fava bean croquettes [ta'miyah]. On Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays their garbage is full of bags used for chickens from the consumer collective enterprises, their bones, and their imported meat. On these days they do some real cooking!

Garbage cans are especially full at particular times. They are full at the end of the week on days when meat is slaughtered and working women have time to do their cooking for the week. Also, the garbage cans are full on religious holidays such as 'Ashura' [10 Muharram--the anniversary of the death of Husayn at Karbala'], the Birthday of the Prophet, and the night which marks the mid-point in the Islamic calendar month of Sha'ban. But during Shamm al-Nasim [Egyptian springtime holiday], the garbage finds its way to the public parks, streets, and banks of the Nile.

In the garbage cans one finds loaves of locally-made popular bread as well as loaves of Syrian-type bread made in automated bakeries, and in these garbage cans one also finds choice bits of french bread, and the leftovers of first-rate "toast" which have not been eaten and have spoiled. Also, one finds rice as well as macaroni of all sizes and types. All of these things together are found in the pigsties at the garbage dumps.

At our dinner tables we [commonly] serve more than we eat. Experts from the National Institute of Planning estimate that the percentage of food lost in this way is 10 percent. This extra food which is lost is not an indication of brisk sales in the marketplaces, nor is it an indication of a high standard of living. It is an indication of "nutritional ignorance." Egyptians do not suffer from indigestion because of overeating--as this is defined by people working in the field of nutrition. Egyptians, like people in any developing nation, eat bread as the main food and the other things are merely appetizers to go with the bread. In the richer countries, however, these other things such as vegetables and protein foods are the main dish and they eat bread as something to go with that. This is the difference. Egyptians get between 65 and 70 percent of the calories which they need from cereals and grains, and they get only 10 percent of the calories which they need from sources of animal protein. This is less than one-third of what their basic need is in terms of animal proteins. But, on the other hand, in Egypt there are people who suffer from indigestion or from what is called "overeating." But this is only a minority of people.

During the 8 years between 1970 and 1978 the consumption of grains, legumes, meat, and 13 other food items increased. The population increase was 2.5 percent, but the increase in food consumption was 20 percent. This was an unjustified increase, especially as far as a number of food items were concerned--such as sugar, flour, fish, fava beans, and artificial cooking butter.

In 1970 a total of 1,448,600,000 Egyptian pounds were spent on food and beverages, and the total subsidy for food items was only 39.1 million Egyptian pounds--that is, 2.7 percent. By 1979, however, the total spent on food and beverages was 6,011,700,000 Egyptian pounds, and the total subsidy spent was 995.7 million Egyptian pounds, that is, 16.6 percent. This means that the ratio of the subsidy to the amount spent on food increased more than 6-fold during this 9-year period.

The rates of consumption increased, and one reason was the enormous increase in population. However, nutritional ignorance was also one vital and

important reason for this increase. Nutritional ignorance, combined with the increase in population, neutralized all of the efforts expended to achieve a secure food supply. In a study conducted using a broad sample of both male and female citizens, including people from various trades and professions as well as housewives, it was shown that 97 percent of these people are ignorant even of the basic principles of sound nutrition. The illiteracy rate in Egypt is 65 percent, but the rate of nutritional illiteracy is even greater and more harmful.

This wild increase in consumption is being reinforced and aggravated by a whole series of reasons. They include such things as unhealthy eating habits connected with the traditions of [lavish Arab] hospitality and generosity and the tendency to overspend on food on certain occasions--both happy and sad ones. Also, the economic open-door policy and the increase in incomes which certain categories of people enjoyed as a result of it led many such people to indulge in a binge of overeating since they previously had been deprived of such food. Also, emigration was another factor which caused an increase in incomes and a consequent increase in consumption. Furthermore, the government has also been encouraging increased consumption on religious occasions, but there is no religious basis for this being done. This has meant increased consumption of cakes and pastries on holidays, dried fruits during Ramadan, and fish during the holiday Shamm al-Nasim. Furthermore, there has been more advertising concerning food products, especially in the ads on television. And finally, the supply of foodstuffs has been irregular. This has encouraged people to buy and hoard certain items when they are available in the marketplaces--for fear that these food items will disappear later on.

All of these factors have led to bad consumption patterns and to the fact that there is a tendency to have more food be lost in the garbage cans.

#### Be Generous Only With What You Have

In the budget of any family, food and beverages account for the largest share of money spent on consumption. In her master's thesis dealing with "the influence of consumption of foodstuffs" Salwa 'Ayyad, a graduate student in the Department of Home Economics, came out with some surprising results. Her study was conducted on a broad sample of people from various low-income and high-income areas of Cairo, as representatives of urban life, and people from the villages of al-Manawat and Mit Qadus, in the governorate of al-Jizah, as representative of rural life. One of the findings in the thesis was that Egyptian families are greatly concerned about giving banquets on special occasions. There is nothing wrong with this as such. What is wrong is when such a family prepares enough food for half of the number of those invited and there is still a surplus! In the urban area 51 percent of the people exaggerate the amount of food necessary for the human food requirements of those invited. This is something which reflects the inclination of such host families to show off and to attach great importance to appearances. Only 34 percent of the families served the right amount of food necessary for the people they invited. A total of 15 percent of these

families applied the rule which says: "Be generous only with what you have." In the rural areas these respective percentages are as follows--36 percent, 8 percent, and 56 percent.

Concerning the keeping of fresh food and food which had been cooked and which the family did not need to eat [immediately], the study showed that 76 percent of the people in Cairo keep their food from spoiling by means of utilizing an appropriate method. On the other hand, 18 percent of the people threw the extra food into garbage cans because they did not wish to serve it again. Only 6 percent of these people prepared this leftover food in another form and served it during the next few days. In the rural areas, these respective percentages were as follows--86 percent, 12 percent, and 2 percent. Our scholar noticed that there were high percentages of food that was dispensed with. Most of this food constituted foodstuffs subsidized by the government. What this means is that the government's subsidy, to a large degree, is going into the garbage cans.

As for storing foodstuffs, the study showed that 73 percent of the housewives in the urban area and 42 percent of the housewives in the rural areas store abundant quantities of these consumer items. The study showed that, in the case of 60 percent of the housewives the food which they stored sometimes spoiled, in the case of 14 percent of them their food always spoiled, and in the case of 26 percent of them the food was kept in such a manner that it was protected from being spoiled. This is as far as the housewives in the urban area are concerned. As for the rural areas, these respective percentages are as follows--76 percent, 6 percent, and 18 percent.

Concerning the manner in which food is served and the percentage of food lost as a result of this, the study concluded that only 26 percent of the individuals concerned in the sample cut bread in the appropriate manner. The people in the rest of the sample paid absolutely no attention to the way in which the bread was cut up. This is something which increases the percentage of bread wasted. The study found that the people in 72 percent of the families involved take their food from one or more plates, whereas the people in 28 percent of the families take food from all of the plates on the table, depending on what they wanted to eat. This was true as far as the people in the urban area were concerned. In the rural areas these respective percentages were as follows--8 percent, 91 percent, and 9 percent.

It is more economical if everyone has his own plate from which to eat whatever he needs, and it is more economical when a loaf of bread is divided up into four parts so that the members of a family do not reach for a new loaf of bread and eat part of it and get the rest of it dirty--with the result being that no one else wants to eat the rest of such loaves afterward.

#### [Insert] The Cities Along the Canal Are Where One Finds the Most Food in the Garbage of the Poor

The most recent survey of the garbage of the cities along the canal--Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez--was conducted not long ago by a work group from the UN, in cooperation with the Ministry of Reconstruction. Large-scale,

diverse, and well-studied samples were taken from the garbage of the three cities, and the margin of error allowed was no more than 5 percent. Collecting the samples took a whole week. In order to insure that the garbage collected was garbage actually thrown out by people during the survey period concerned, the work group made sure that all of the areas involved in the experiment--including the streets and the homes--were totally clean before the samples were collected.

The samples of garbage were then collected, each sample of garbage was individually crushed into a smaller size, and then all of the samples were put in plastic bags and flown to the laboratories of the Scientific and Industrial Research Organization which belongs to the University of Trondheim in Norway. When the report concerning the garbage came out, it began with some unusual general comments. They included the following: The garbage collected from the streets of Port Said is different from the garbage collected from the streets of Ismailia and Suez in that it contains a great deal of paper, many empty tin cans, and many nylon bags. The reason for this is that there are many visitors who come to the city in order to make purchases. Also, the samples taken from the middle-class areas of Suez could not be used in the experiment because it was discovered that the municipal [sanitation] workers and residents of neighboring areas had collected much of their garbage and piled it inside the area where the sample was to be taken. However, the experiment assumed that the garbage from the middle-class areas of Ismailia would serve as a good indication of what the garbage would be like from the middle-class areas of Suez.

The report says that it has been shown that every 1,000 residents of Port Said throw out 35 tons of garbage per year, that every 1,000 residents of Ismailia throw out 20 tons of garbage per year, and that every 1,000 residents in Suez throw out only 16 tons of garbage per year.

Every ship which passes through the Suez Canal leaves behind 60 kilograms of garbage in both Port Said and Suez. The three cities of the Suez Canal are noted for the fact that they produce a lot of debris and trash as a result of construction and tearing down buildings. The ratio of this debris and trash to household garbage in these cities is from 2 to 4 times as large as it is in the cities of the other developing nations. The report concludes from this that this is proof of the intensity of reconstruction activity which is going on in the area in order to build it back up after it was destroyed by the war.

The average amount of garbage thrown out by school pupils in Ismailia and Suez is 2.4 tons per year for every 1,000 pupils. In Port Said this figure goes up to 3 tons.

The analysis of the contents of the household garbage in the Canal cities shows that the garbage is different in low-income areas, middle-income areas, and high-income areas. The garbage in the low-income areas was 61.6 percent leftovers from food. This is a very high percentage. The garbage included bones (0.5 percent), paper (13.3 percent), plastic (1 percent), old fabric materials (2.8 percent), leather and rubber (0.3 percent), combustible

materials (1.5 percent), metals (1.2 percent), glass (1.4 percent), non-combustible materials (1.3 percent), and minute materials (15.1 percent).

The thing which is important to us here is the fact that such a high percentage of the garbage consisted of food. This percentage was 61.6 percent in the case of garbage from the low-income areas, but it was only 60.7 percent in the case of the garbage from houses in the high-income areas. It is even less in the case of garbage from the houses in the middle-income areas--60.2 percent.

The percent of food in the street garbage varies depending on where the streets are. In the case of streets in low-income areas, it was 20.4 percent. This percentage goes up in the case of the streets in middle-income areas, where it is as high as 22 percent. In the case of streets in the high-income areas, this percentage goes down as low as 11.7 percent.

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CSO: 4504/575

EFFORTS TO END RAT PROBLEM DETAILED

Cairo POSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2881, 29 Aug 83 p 38

[Article by George Shafiq: "The Rats Nowadays Come Out During the Daytime!"]

[Text] In our readers in the first grade of elementary school we learned that rats do not come out during the daytime. We learned that they hide inside their ratholes and wait for nighttime to come in order to leave these ratholes and look for food.

Perhaps this was true in the past. By today, however, rats have already changed their habits. They are no longer afraid of daylight. They come out during the daytime, when everyone can hear and see them, and destroy and ruin crops, especially in the provinces of al-Sharqiyah, al-Qalyubiyah, and Kafr al-Shaykh.

The Ministries of Agriculture, Irrigation, and Health have become alerted to the danger posed by rats. During the last 3 years--that is, ever since 1981--they have been utilizing all possible modern means to eliminate this danger posed by the rats. I am not saying that they are attempting to eliminate rats completely, because rats will continue to exist on this Earth as long as human beings inhabit it. These were the words of Engineer Muhammad Bahjat 'Umar, first deputy minister of agriculture, when he was recently talking to a group of Egyptian and German journalists.

This was part of the program involved in a visit [by the journalists] to the village of Hayatim, near the city of Tanta. There a joint experimental project is being conducted by Egypt and West Germany on a 200-feddan plot of land which has been planted with wheat and cotton. Egyptian and German experts have managed to eliminate 99 percent of the rats from this plot of land.

In Hayatim, Engineer 'Abd-al-'Ati Khalifah, deputy minister of agriculture in the province of al-Gharbiyah, stated that the existence of 1 percent of the rats means that the situation will be the same as it was before the other 99 percent of the rats were exterminated, and that this would happen within 45 days unless extermination work was continued.

Mr Khalifah talked about the joint Egyptian-German project. He said that financing for the project consisted of 10,000 Egyptian pounds in addition

to a German grant totalling 19 million German marks. He also said that the project was being carried out in four different provinces, which are the provinces of Aswan, Qina, Sawhaj, and Asyut. The story of eradicating rats from Hayatim is a unique one. This village was chosen as the place to conduct the experiment after rats there had encroached upon and taken over agricultural lands. The means of extermination used there was the pesticide called (rakubin). When rats eat this pesticide, they start to bleed and they die. The pesticide is usually mixed with crushed wheat or corn which serves as flavor to lure the rats.

There are three types of rats in Hayatim--the Nile rat, the black rat, and the house rat.

The pesticide powder was put inside troughs made out of fired clay which were made locally, each one costing 15 piasters. The troughs were then scattered around the edges of the fields, and some of them were put inside homes and barns in the area.

Two weeks after all of this had been done, huge numbers of dead rats were found both in the fields and in homes.

Dr (Kinnert), an engineer from the German team, said that the experiment had been a success primarily due to the fact that there was total cooperation between the Egyptian and German teams and because the peasants in the area shouldered the responsibility of undertaking a campaign to clean out all the piles of dirt and remains of crops which were lying around--and which have been described as being like air-conditioned homes for the rats. Furthermore, the Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture is undertaking intensive nationwide campaigns, between crop cycles, aimed at warding off the danger posed by rats. The result of this has been that the danger posed by rats has been reduced from 80 percent to 10 percent. This information was provided to us by Mr 'Umar. He also assured us that the ministry is keeping track of the effectiveness of the various pesticides against rats and is changing the types of pesticides and flavors used in them so that the rats will not learn to avoid them. In this regard, Mr 'Umar also said that Egypt is cooperating with a number of countries such as Britain, France, and West Germany concerning the utilization of pesticides. He said that the result of this has been that 21 million rats have been eliminated, in addition to the rats which have died inside their ratholes.

According to Mr 'Umar, the most important factor of the success of the campaign to eliminate the rats has been the fact that the whole population has participated in it. He said that bags of pesticides are being sold at nominal prices to members of cooperative associations and that these pesticides can be used in the fields, in homes, and in all other places where rats are found. He said that, in addition to this, people are concerned about cleanliness, which is a religious virtue--and cleanliness is something which rats hate.

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MOROCCO

IMPROVEMENTS IN POSTS, TELECOMMUNICATIONS MINISTRY OUTLINED

Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE in French 7 Oct 83 pp 6-7

[Interview with Mohand Laenser, minister of posts and telecommunications, by Marcel Herzog and Mohamed El Amine Palamino, date and place not specified]

[Text] The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications plays an important, even prime, role in national economic life. But users have a tendency to remember only the problems they have with these services rather than the benefits they derive.

And the newspapers—ours in particular--have the same tendency.

It is true that some telephone exchanges no longer respond (in both meanings of the word) to our needs. The government, of course, did not wait for our articles to act; it long ago drew up plans of action. However, they depend to a large extent on appropriations and, as things currently stand, these are not easily come by.

We asked the minister of posts and telecommunications if he would summarize the situation for the readers of VIE ECONOMIQUE.

Mohand Laenser first told us how eager he was to maintain contact with the media in general and with economic circles.

In this respect, and before we proceed further, we would like to give our high opinion of Laenser, a young and dynamic man with an open mind, who is well aware that his ministry is above all a public service.

A graduate of ENA [National School of Administration], Laenser has spent most of his brilliant career in the PTT and before becoming minister he was general secretary. He is, therefore, well aware of what is happening.

Here is the interview that Laenser kindly granted us.

[Question] The major subject of recrimination in Casablanca is the poor quality of telephone connections, especially with the series 26. Businesses that depend on this exchange are in a difficult situation since they cannot communicate normally. What does the ministry plan to do to correct this situation?

[Answer] The quality of telephone connections in Casablanca is certainly the same as in other systems. It is even better, and this can be shown statistically. But in making this statement I in no way mean that the Casablanca system is satisfactory and that nothing needs to be done. My point was simply to state that if, at an equal level of quality, Casablanca's problems are more acute, this is because of the specific nature and character of this urban area: the population, the economic activity, its size, and town planning and associated distribution systems make Casablanca a large metropolitan area that needs many resources.

The PTT, which is aware of these realities and which would like to meet the royal directives of His Majesty the King, who is particularly concerned about this city, has always been especially interested in equipping and modernizing the Casablanca telephone system.

In regard to telecommunications alone, one-third of our telephone equipment is in Casablanca. This is quite a bit, especially when considering that in absolute figures the gap between what is needed and what is available is quite large.

Of course, this equipment was not installed all at once and there is a variety of equipment. This means that, apart from problems related to overuse of the exchanges, some of the very old ones work poorly. This is true of the "United Nations I" exchange to which the series 26 subscribers are connected.

This exchange has an R6 system, which is an electromechanical rotary selector system. It uses a very old technology that is currently dying out. This equipment was installed in Casablanca United Nations I in 1953. It is, therefore, not as efficient as it used to be and the quality of service has suffered despite continued, intensified upkeep of this switch. The normal lifespan of an exchange is 20 years. However, within the limit of the appropriations allocated to the Posts and Telecommunications, this exchange has not yet been able to be replaced. Despite an extraordinary effort to maintain this exchange we are confronted with a lack of spare parts on the market. This means that our technicians must be extremely clever in order to keep this equipment working.

However, the replacement of this exchange and the one in Maarif has already been scheduled for this 5-year plan and will take place in 1985. There will also be a reward for the subscribers who have been so patient--the new equipment will be electronic and will incorporate the latest developments.

[Question] Many requests for connections are pending. It would be in the interest of the ministry itself to increase the number of telephone subscribers. What plans have been made in this area?

[Answer] The past few years there has been a real surge in requests for telephone lines. The number of pending requests has increased from 102,604 at the end of 1981 to 115,268 at the end of 1982. The number of pending requests was 61,000 in 1978, 69,612 in 1979 and 86,358 in 1980. Despite an 8 percent annual rate of increase in subscribers, demand has grown by over 20 percent, leaving a difference of 12 to 30 percent.

The 1981-1985 5-year plan calls for creating about 100,000 new lines and replacing 55,000 lines.

This increase in the number of subscribers is still inadequate because investment funds allocated to the Posts and Telecommunications are not sufficient to meet the demand of a more and more numerous and exacting clientele. That is why we are looking for original solutions and not just budgetary ones. We are planning to reorganize and to review our management methods within the framework of a national Office of Posts and Telecommunications, in particular.

[Question] Some subscribers have complained about receiving bills that are unrelated to their use of the telephone. All kinds of rumors have surfaced as to the causes of these errors. Today the errors are much less frequent. Has the PTT taken measures to avoid these mistakes and if so, what are they?

[Answer] In 1980, 6.4 percent of subscribers questioned their telephone bill. In other terms, 1 bill out of 100 was questioned.

In 1982 these percentages were 4.1 claims per 100 subscribers and .74 per 100 bills.

This encouraging trend puts the Moroccan PTT on the same level as their French counterpart, for example. This self-satisfaction, however, does not mean that nothing is being done.

Despite an obvious effort on the part of the PTT to reduce the reasons for these disputes, to simplify procedures and to investigate these claims more quickly, various stories continue to circulate as to the reasons for overbillings.

Of course, certain technical or billing problems could cause confusion among subscribers, but this limited number of cases is handled by the PTT which grants refunds, often right away when the information gathered during a technical inquiry and audit shows that a claim is well founded.

However, the PTT also has its "poor payers" as well as those who underestimate their telephone use through ignorance or negligence. The establishment of automatic international connections with countries in North America, Europe and the Middle East and improper or uncontrolled use of the telephone to these areas is often the cause of the "surprise" bill.

In addition, a good portion of the disputes that confuse users regarding their telephones seem to be a misunderstanding of the different billing levels.

The PTT authorities have now shown their willingness to communicate with users in order to improve and humanize the ministry's relations.

An information and sensitization campaign within the PTT has preceded the one that will be initiated with users.

[Question] Post office checks, which have always given users satisfaction, probably need improvement. What is planned in this regard?

**[Answer]** Post office checks play an important role in the national economy.

By allowing payments to be made without using cash, they help reduce the circulation of paper money and the issuing of bank notes.

Total deposits, which were 2,602,905,568 dirhams on 31 December 1982 for 251,000 accounts, is entirely at the disposal of the Treasury.

Because of the variety of services offered, post office checks are attracting more and more users. In 1982 almost 8 million transactions were processed.

To satisfy this clientele, which increases daily, and to meet the needs of modernization and innovation, a very modern data processing system was installed, which has allowed all urgent CCP [Postal Check Center] operations to be processed in real time and the counters at the central office and at the offices of Kenitra Main, Tanger Main, Marrakech Medina Main, Fes Atlas, Oujda Main, Marrakech Main, Marrakech Medina, Agadir Main and 7 post offices in Casablanca to be equipped with terminals. This means that funds can be withdrawn, deposits made and currency obtained at these sites.

In the coming months 59 terminals will be installed in 52 other locations. So most transactions, including transfers, can be carried out in real time from any area of the kingdom.

In addition, in order to streamline business, which is increasing at a dizzying rate, the various offices of the center will be equipped with terminals so that all transactions can be processed as soon as they are received.

By setting up a program to exchange magnetic tapes with important clients that have data processing systems, the post office check services will allow these clients to improve and simplify their financial transactions with their associates.

Thanks to this system, the business will be able to give all the instructions that it wants concerning its current postal account directly by magnetic tape (instructions regarding transfers, withdrawals, payment by money order).

In order to solidify in the area of postal checks the policy of decentralization outlined by the government of His Majesty the King, a second postal check center is scheduled to be opened under the current plan.

Implementing new management procedures and adapting the above mentioned work methods are closely linked to the commercial quality of this branch of activity of the Posts and Telecommunications.

The problems of archiving records of accounts, both in terms of their volume and location, and consulting them for updates will be solved by microfilming these documents. This project is already being carried out.

Another project involving the pairing of postal accounts and accounts in the National Savings Bank [CEN] is planned.

Combining these accounts means that you can switch from one account to the other. It will allow account holders to cover accidental postal check overdrafts by withdrawing from the CEN and vice versa and will make automatic transfers from one account to the other easier.

The role post office checks play in bringing hard currency into the country is not insignificant. In fact, in 1982 over 2 billion dirhams from abroad were put in current post office accounts. In order to encourage our fellow citizens working abroad to use this service, a publicity campaign will be organized for them to make them aware of the advantages of postal transfers of money.

In conclusion, postal checks, as has been shown, are a useful and indispensable mechanism for the national economy. By increasing the services offered by postal checks, we hope to have 1 million accounts and to handle a daily average of 10 million dirhams in the next 10 years.

[Question] Overall, what improvements does the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications plan to make and what major investments are foreseen?

[Answer] The PTT must obviously act on two fronts: on the one hand, increase the volume of its postal, telephone and telex equipment in order to meet the needs of citizens and on the other, to make qualitative improvements in the service offered to its users.

That is why the current 5-year plan calls for replacing some exchanges and installing others as mentioned above.

In addition, the following has been planned:

--to automate the telephone in 40 localities, including the communities in our Sahara provinces.

--to serve more than 70 rural communities, either by using above ground lines or radiotelephone links.

--to expand the Mohammed-V earth station (via the Intersat satellite) and to construct a new station for the inter-Arab network (via Arabsat). It should be noted that 3 earth stations recently put in service can transmit television programs to the Sahara provinces and at the same time link them to the national telecommunications network.

--to extend our international relations by satellite and by underwater cable and to increase the use of automatic methods in these relations.

That sums up the major telecommunications activities. As for postal and financial services, almost 150 new post offices are planned, in addition to offices that will be opened as needed but that are not included in the plan. Similarly, we will continue to mechanize both window operations and mail sorting. Two new sorting complexes are planned, which will be in addition to the Casablanca complex.

Post office financial services--postal checks, savings fund, money orders--which until now have been greatly improved, especially by greater use of data processing, will see further innovations. For example, financial agencies separate from post offices will be opened in large cities and more terminals connected to the central computer will be installed. In addition, the Savings Bank will be set up as an autonomous public institution.

Before I finish I would like to point out new services that will be offered, such as telecopying, which has been available in 10 or so large post offices throughout Morocco since July 1983.

This service has not yet been talked about much because it is in its initial phase of being accepted by users. It will, however, perform a very useful service because it can instantaneously transmit a written document to any corner of Morocco.

Another service that will appear soon is "accelerated mail," which is normal mail processed under very specific conditions, which means there is a gain of as much as 80 percent in routing and delivery.

I cannot list all of the planned activities. To give you an idea, however, let's just say that the budgetary appropriation for the current 5-year plan is about 260 billion centimes, the equivalent of all the investments in this sector from independence until 1980. This amount is inadequate, however, in view of the needs.

These last figures cited by Mr. Laenser emphasize the importance of the work already undertaken and that will be pursued. The increase in national needs reflects the sizable progress made through economic development and the general improvement in living conditions. The PTT has shown a remarkable and commendable dynamism, and although some details of the infrastructure still leave something to be desired, the overall equipment and infrastructure will in the near future put Morocco among the most well equipped countries in the area of telecommunications.

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CSO:4519/11

**IRBIL GOVERNORATE WITNESSES HOUSING BOOM**

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 17 Sep 83 p 4

[Interview with Yahya Muhammad Rashid al-Jaf, governor of Irbil, by Hasan al-'Ani; date and place not mentioned]

[Text] Twenty years ago, and that is not a long time, any visitor or summer tourist in the city of Irbil could stand at the top of the historic citadel and take in all the city's landmarks, since nothing was there except a few minarets and old houses standing right next to each other. The observer almost skipped over them. His gaze discovered flat, very dry land that extended in front of his eyes limitlessly. At that time the citadel was the highest and loftiest edifice in the entire city.

One architect from Irbil says: "When we used to go up to a high place, we were able to recognize the houses and their inhabitants house by house. This is a true observation borne out by the offices of al-Tabu for a period ending in the late 1950's.

There are some who believe that "Hulir" should be considered a modern governorate, despite the fact that it is one of the oldest Iraqi cities, with roots in Ashurian, Sumerian, Akkadian, and Babylonian history. The basis of this belief is the place's bustling life and the magnitude of the rapid development which has changed the city in practical terms so that it has become absolutely impossible to find any standard of comparison. This had happened in a few years. The start of it all can be determined with a great deal of accuracy: the beginning of the revolution in July 1968. At that time, the leadership decided to build a new Iraq from the plains to the mountains and from the mountains to the sea.

At all times, I had only to ask the same question to find out what I needed to know: "How many times has the number doubled in the last 15 years of the revolution?" The answers of the gentlemen in charge of education, health, religious endowments, and housing were quite similar. The number of schools, hospitals, housing areas, and places of worship had increased 40 times in comparison with 1968. Therefore, the summer guest or visitor to Irbil today sees in its historic citadel a small peak in the midst of scores of modern peaks, which are the summits of lofty buildings. Taking in the houses and recognizing the inhabitants has become an exercise in fantasy. The architectural and demographic expansion in Irbil did not take the form of

adding to a group of houses here or there. Rather, it took the form of building a big group of city quarters which are completely new to the city. The plain extending without limits has become a continuous chain of markets, factories, streets, playing fields and modern houses.

Therefore, you, like myself, are filled with confidence that the coming years will be years of greater plenty and more generalized good for Irbil, and for all the governorates of our region. For the nation which fills itself with building and war in the most violent and voracious fashion is worthy of sublimity, a high rank, and the achievement of victories.

#### The President's Quarter

When Mr Yahya Muhammad Rashid al-Jaf talks about the governorate, he has no choice but to speak in general terms about the most important projects and accomplishments which Irbil has witnessed. We, however, must ask forgiveness from the governor and our readers, for we wish to focus on one aspect of development. We mean the service-oriented aspect connected with providing housing for the citizenry. This is considered to be without a doubt one of the most prominent of the revolution's concerns and the citizens' needs, in the aftermath of the explosive development of civilization and living standards which the Iraqis have experienced, not to mention the broad dispersion of the population on the family level which followed on its heels, due to numerous other intertwined factors.

[Question] Could the governor of Irbil sketch out the broad outlines of the governorate's efforts in the field of housing? What steps have been taken in this regard?

[Answer] We have spared no effort to provide the citizens with housing through numerous avenues. In this way, we are achieving one of the central aims which the leadership of the party and the revolution is greatly interested in. I'll try here to outline only the most important things that have been accomplished in recent years. At the beginning of 1980, while the leader President Saddam Husayn was visiting Irbil, he made a grant of 57 million dinars to be used to develop the governorate. The township granted 2,000 families 4 million dinars, or 2,000 dinars per family, with which to build modern houses. This grant was accompanied by the distribution of a plot of residential land to each family. In fact, the desired houses were built and inhabited by these people. It should be noted that these families used to live in unhealthy housing. was born the quarter known today as Saddam's Quarter or the President's Quarter.

The municipalities and their districts and subdistricts built hundreds of houses with their allocations from the grant, while the local administration built 200 houses for the state employees with its share of the grant. At the same time, the department of townships built 22 houses within the context of its usual budget. Currently, the above-mentioned department is constructing a large group of houses.

Aside from that, the departments of the governorate are building houses, including 108 residential apartments at the Irbil station, as well as a large number of houses for physicians, judges and state employees and workers.

[Question] How do you view the problem of quality in housing?

[Answer] There are two issues which I consider very important. The first one is that the efforts of the governorate are considered but one of the sources of support for dealing with this subject. As for the qualitative aspect of housing, the revolution has been very concerned about this, with the aim in mind of assuring those conditions which make for housing that is healthy, comfortable and appropriate to the citizens. Therefore, the matter of participation, planning, and even the primary materials have been seen as basic. Any quality-based comparison of the houses or quarters built before the revolution, few as they were, in the governorates of the region, with those built after it confirms the great difference between the two.

#### Residential Land for All the Citizens

All Iraqis should be happy and have an equal chance for work, life, the pursuit of knowledge and culture, and health. So that the same can be said with regard to housing, the efforts have been ceaseless to build houses, homes and residential apartments. Above and beyond this, the same effort has been exerted to provide pieces of residential land in very large numbers. We let Mr Yahya Muhammad Rashid al-Jaf, the governor of Irbil, give us the details of the subject:

Concerning the distribution of residential land, I will again limit myself to recent years. I mean the war years, to be precise. In 1982, the township of Irbil distributed 466 sections of land to soldiers and 229 sections to citizens and state employees, while 28 sections went to the internal security forces. This means that 723 families acquired sections of residential land. This number has been more than doubled in the current year, 1983. The vocational organizations got 550 sections, while 155 sections went to the men of religion. That was the first phase. As for the second, there are 515 other sections that are about to be distributed. Eighty-six sections have been offered to military personnel, 225 to citizens, 120 to state employees, and 28 to the internal security forces. This means that 1,679 Kurdish families have obtained residential land.

In addition to these ambitious numbers, the governor says there are 2,000 sections of residential land ready to be distributed to workers and state employees, with 1,000 sections going to the former and 1,000 to the latter. In 2 years, 402 families obtained residential land. During the war years, hundreds of apartments, homes and houses have been distributed. Do any of you believe you will be able to recognize Irbil and its new quarters tomorrow or the day after?

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CSO: 4404/11

**IRBIL GOVERNORATE CONTINUES DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS DESPITE WAR**

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 16 Sep 83 p 7

[Text] From the beginning of the glorious battle of Qadisiyah Saddam until now, the government offices in the Irbil governorate have carried out 1,751 different projects at a cost of 100,609,000 dinars.

This was mentioned by Mr Yahya al-Jaf, the governor of Irbil, to the Iraqi News Agency. The governor pointed out that these offices are currently implementing another 507 projects, at a cost of 157,334 dinars. He said that these numbers offer decisive proof that the battle has not obstructed the progress of the development plan in our region. Indeed, the devotion of the people in charge of implementing the projects has increased steadily, confirming the deep sympathy of the masses of the people for the directives of the leadership of the party and the revolution, which is headed by the leader President Saddam Husayn. These directives point out the need to continue the development process and achieve victories in the battle of building and progress through balanced steps, while achieving victories on the battle lines against the forces of the malevolent Iranian regime.

The projects which have been executed include 831 houses, 316 apartments, 2 shelters, 13 government office buildings, a center for distributing oil products, 2 centers for children, 2 mosques, a bakery, and 3 telephone cable networks.

In addition, 67 schools, 19 nurseries, 5 classrooms, 97 additional rooms inside the schools, a classroom for the industrial arts, 5 school laboratories, 3 halls, a student club, and a school activity center were built, not to mention 10 modern markets, 11 water fountains, 2 rest houses, 3 gardens, 5 casinos, a restaurant, 11 courts, a parking garage, and a hotel. A wide network of streets were paved as well.

In addition, 11 youth centers, a game hall, a youth house, a swimming pool, 17 vanguard headquarters, 2 youth camps, a closed-in sports hall, and 11 drinking water projects were built. Thirteen water pipe systems were laid. Two filling stations and 3 halls were built, and 6 irrigation channels were lined. Two projects for processing stream water were built. A big irrigation network was improved, and 16 water tanks were set up. A club, a workers' library, an additional house, a workshop, and 6 other structures were built.

The executed projects also include the Irbil general hospital, which holds 400 beds, 2 other hospitals, 5 health centers, a medical storehouse, a center for first aid, a community center, 10 roofed-over areas, a poultry project, a veterinary laboratory, a cold storage facility, and the restoration of 4 houses of historic importance, as well as the construction of 1000 cubic meters of support wall for the ancient citadel of Irbil.

The governor of Irbil pointed out that the projects which are still being implemented include the construction of 185 houses and 158 residential apartments, as well as 29 schools, 12 nurseries, 3 laboratories, 6 classrooms, 15 government buildings, 2 centers for children, a mosque, a hospice, 3 storage rooms, a center for vocational training, 4 filling stations, a factory, a unit for dispensing liquid gas, an Islamic institute, 2 hotels for tourists and 3 guest houses.

In addition, 2 youth centers, a youth camp, a playing field, a youth house, a sports club, a swimming pool, 3 modern markets, 4 supper clubs, a network of inner streets, 2 centers for marketing agricultural products, a hall, 4 veterinary clinics, a station for atmospheric storms, a club for students, 3 libraries for the students of the colleges of Salah-al-Din University, a group of scientific laboratories, a guidance center, and an enclosed swimming pool and hall. Other projects still being implemented include laying tile in the water sources and irrigation channels, 5 water networks, 3 drinking water projects, a maternity hospital, a hospital for children, a 100-bed hospital, a sanatorium, a health professions institute, and advisory medical clinic, and 5 rural telephone networks.

These projects also include a nutritional training center, an ice factory, 6 agricultural extension stations, a storage room, immersion pools, 2 centers for agricultural services, 4 centers for agricultural marketing, buildings for the executive and legislative councils, a new poultry project with a capacity of 70 million eggs per year, the preservation of houses of historic interest in the citadel of Irbil, and the construction of support walls for the citadel.

The governor confirmed that all employees of state agencies are devoting their abilities to carrying out these projects in record time. This is their way of participating in the battle and assuring that the development process will continue in our region under the leadership of the leader President Saddam Husayn.

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## IRAQI AIRLINES EXPANDS ROUTE NETWORK

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 17 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Ilyas Mushaykh: "Thirty-Five Minutes to Copenhagen"]

[Excerpts] When one prepares for a journey abroad, air travel may be the mode of transportation chosen, especially if one is going to distant countries. The airport will be your first stop after you touch down. It is a great advertisement which reflects the extent of development in the country.

The Iraqi Airlines corporation has been very concerned about offering the best in the way of services to the passengers on its huge and diverse aircraft, in addition to looking after its other responsibilities which have to do with the affairs and the precise maintenance of its air fleet.

Iraqi Airlines, like the other sectors of our region, has witnessed important developments during the last 3 years, while our just battle was going on. The deputy general director of the corporation discusses these developments below.

### Expanding the Iraqi Air Fleet

The deputy general director of the corporation says: During the war years, the company has witnessed the achievement of a series of great accomplishments, including the addition of a number of jumbo aircraft and the inauguration of new routes, so that Iraq's aircraft now go to 50 international airports, after having been outfitted with food equipment prepared by the division of general services. The division was also opened a year ago and uses the most modern techniques. The company has given great attention to making its work force qualified. This is essential, for the work force must be made qualified if it is to confront new situations in its work and gain experience. Therefore, the engineers, pilots and stewards of our technical work force continually participate in courses prepared for them. The ground trainers are considered one of the most outstanding courses we have been able to program during the war years.

The company has introduced important technical progress into its operations by using electronic computers to issue tickets and connect its offices at home and abroad. Even deciding the amount of fuel necessary for each trip is done by computer. The company has commissioned elaborate studies concerning

mechanizing the operations of Iraqi Airlines in all administrative, financial, and maintenance-related aspects, as well as with regard to control, etc. We hope the studies will be completed soon. Then we will start working with them.

Finally, the deputy general director confirmed that all Iraqi Airlines employees have been exerting exceptional efforts up to this time. This is clear evidence of their high feeling of responsibility for reinforcing the spirit of the victory which has been achieved under the leadership of the party and the revolution, with the leader President Saddam Husayn at its head.

After this meeting, we strolled through the various divisions of the airport. Our first stop was at the building housing the ground trainers. To begin with, we saw a group of students from the different classes who were equipped with movie projectors and slide projectors. Then we turned toward a large hall which held two ground trainers.

[Question] What is a ground trainer?

[Answer] (Captain Yusuf al-Khuri) A ground trainer, which is called a flight simulator, is nothing but an aircraft cockpit.

[Question] What good is it?

[Answer] After a pilot gets his flying license, he cannot fly yet because of the many different kinds of aircraft and his lack of specialization. Moreover, he has not been trained practically in an airplane. So he has to be trained. If training takes place in an actual aircraft, it is used up and diverted from its real work: carrying passengers. In addition, emergencies cannot be taught in an airplane circling in the air, but we can do this in a ground trainer.

Thanks to high technology, these trainers were manufactured for this purpose in advanced countries. The company imported two (that is, to match two kinds of aircraft) in order to train our pilots and qualify them to fly aircraft, knowing that the people in charge of this job were 100 percent Iraqi. We have invited Arab pilots to be trained because of our region's pan-Arab orientation and the principles of our commanding party.

#### Inspections and Maintenance

Without a doubt, an aircraft needs maintenance and inspections, for those things have to do with the aircraft's safety during its flight, which is to say, the safety of the passengers from danger.

In order to get acquainted with this aspect of the company's work, we met with Engineer Hisham Muhammad al-Shaybani, who is in charge of the department of engineering affairs, so that he could explain the maintenance process to us. He said:

The three war years have given us enthusiasm for our work and made us take on operations which were new or used to be done outside the region. This in itself is a cause for pride and a great accomplishment.

In this period, we were able to expand our manufacturing and maintenance of aircraft parts, not to mention carrying out inspections on all of them, even the heavy ones. The economic returns were excellent--all of this was money which used to be spent abroad. Then there was the experience the nation gained in brilliant fashion.

During the war period, we opened workshops and factories, including an engine factory which repairs and maintains the heavy working engines used by Iraqi Airlines. Of course, future projects will introduce the use of the computer in the inspection process.

#### Machinery and Equipment

A lot of equipment serves our aircraft and the aircraft which come to our airport.

[Question] Which department is responsible for this equipment?

[Answer] Engineer Ihsan Khalik Sa'id, who is in charge of the division of machinery and equipment maintenance, said:

In order to carry out the policy of guiding consumption and reducing costs, we undertook to maintain equipment like forklifts, buses, aircraft stairways, employee transportation vehicles, etc. This came after a new building was set up during the war period for this purpose. It is outfitted with everything our production division needs.

Do not let me forget to point out that acts of creativity and great successes have been achieved by the workers at the factory. In addition, they further developed old equipment, which was given to the engineering divisions so they could benefit from it.

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ISRAELI DRUZE ASK TO FIGHT IN LEBANON

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 11 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Yehuda Goren and Shimon Rappaport: "2000 Druze from Israel Ask to Fight in Lebanon"]

[Text] Two thousand Druze from Israel and the Golan Heights asked the government yesterday to allow them to go to Lebanon and help their Druze brothers. Yesterday, about 4,000 Druze gathered in Neve Sab'alan near Horpish in the western Galilee. Among those who came were Druze from Israel, Lebanon and the Golan Heights.

The participants decided to demonstrate this week opposite the U.S. Consulate in Tel Aviv, and near the Italian and French Consulates because these countries have the largest military forces in Lebanon. It was further decided to demonstrate near the border crossing at Rosh Hanikra.

The Druze spiritual leader in Israel, Shaykh Amin Tarif, called yesterday for efforts to prevent the spread of ethnic conflict from Lebanon to Israel. The Shaykh spoke dramatically about the health relations which exist in Israel between Druze and Christians.

In the village of Horpish in the western Galilee, a wedding was held by a Christian family 2 days ago. The groom invited, among others, hundreds of Druze from his village. The atmosphere during the entire affair was excellent and no mention of Lebanon was made.

"We hope that the war in Lebanon will not spill over into Israel," said a young Christian resident of 'Osafiya yesterday, who lives in a building near the site where a grenade was thrown Friday at the house of a priest. "We have been living together with the Druze for 400-500 years, and that was the worst ethnic incident that has occurred in generations," he added.

Police units patrolled the town yesterday, evidence of the fact that sentiments were still strong. The grenade was thrown at 2:00 am on the eve of the Sabbath, and was the second incident of the week. On Tuesday, a barrage of bullets was fired near the Catholic church. One of the bullets entered the home of the Christian Hulon family, but no one was hurt.

In 'Osafiya, there are about 7,000 residents, of whom some 2,500 are Christians, who live concentrated in the southern section of town, parallel to the road that goes through the village. Members of both religions tried yesterday to minimize the importance of the incidents. In the wake of these two incidents, the chief of police of greater Haifa invited Druze elders from Sulam Amit, among them the chairman of the local council, Ruslan Abu Rugun, to a meeting. He asked them to prevent further incidents and warned that the police would deal harshly with anyone found disturbing the peace.

The American Ambassador to Israel met with members of the Druze community and told them: "The multi-national force in Lebanon was invited by the Lebanese government and is acting as a defense force only. It is not an aggressive force. Its objective is to help protect human lives and rebuild the Lebanese army."

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CSO: 4423/1

**GAZA CAMP RESIDENTS COMPLAIN OF DETERIORATING WATER SYSTEM**

Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 16 Sep 83 p 2

[Text] The residents of the three resettlement camps, al-Maghazi, al-Burayj, and al-Nusayrat, whose populations total 85,000 people, have since they established local committees been plagued with a number of problems, the most pressing of which are the lack of drinking water which only rarely reaches them even in winter, the sewage problem, and the cesspools that result from it, and finally, the piles of trash spreading everywhere.

The drinking water problem has been most pressing since the water well belonging to al-Maghazi camp was handed over from UNRWA to the Israeli water company, Meqorot, in accordance with the contract signed in May 1982 between the local committee and this company with the concurrence of the agriculture directorate. The contract provided that the local committee would take over the supervision of the well and the distribution of water to homes through the new conduit network. That has been by the agency with jurisdiction over this agreement in accordance with an edict issued on 5 September of this year which said: The homes of most of the residents of al-Maghazi camp have been hooked up to the new Meqorot water system. According to the contract signed in May 1982 the agency's well situated in al-Maghazi will be turned over to the new system and administrative responsibility will belong to the local authorities, while the agency will cease distributing water through its network as of 25 September 1983. From that time we urge the remaining families that have not made arrangements to receive water through the new system to do so as soon as possible.

The UNRWA administration and the local committees have undertaken a study of the residents. They have urged them to connect their homes to the Israeli water especially after the well is turned over. But what happened was that all residents, without exception, have expressed their great distress over the lack of drinking water since whole days have passed by without a drop of water coming through to them; when it did come, it was very little. It was explained that that was due to the water pressure techniques, which do not use modern or advanced methods, even though the water of that well should suffice to meet the needs of all three resettlement camps and more.

A number of residents have petitioned the officials in the local committees but the answer was that the Meqorot company does not possess enough water and as a result the pressure will not be up to the necessary and required levels on a daily basis.

The anxious residents are confronted by this situation while UNRWA is absolved of any responsibility claiming that the local committees are charged with providing them with water. But the local committees are not at all involved with providing the pressure. Responsibility for that falls on the Israeli company which according to the committees say it does not have enough water.

We point out in conclusion that while this terrible situation and lack of water persists--their only means of preserving cleanliness--these camps live in the midst of many open cesspools that result from seepage and overflow of the sewers. They are surrounded by mountains of trash in full view of the officials. The residents of the camps implore the authorities and those responsible for their bad situation to correct it. They question the local committees and their members to voluntarily take on and charge themselves with the administration and affairs of the people.

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BENJAMIN BEGIN CALLED A NEW LEADER FOR THE LIKUD

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 27 Sep 83 p 1

/Article by Menahem Horowitz: "Benyamin Ze'ev Begin: Never Again a Foreign Government in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza/

/Text/ Binyamin Ze'ev Begin got up, took hold of the microphone, and thanked "Qeren Yeladenu" for renaming their center in Qiryat Shemonah after his late mother 'Alizah.

After he finished his 15 minute speech, many of those present were of the opinion that the Likud--and maybe in the future all Israel--had a new leader. As he waved his right hand up and down from time to time, dressed in a blue shirt and wearing a knitted black skullcap, Begin the son surprised the audience with a political declaration that he was apparently making for the first time: "In Judaea and Samaria and the Gaza district, we are all trying to ensure that there will never again be a foreign government."

The large audience that filled the hall applauded, and ministers Ya'akov Meridor and Sarah Doron sat at opposite ends of the table and observed Binyamin Ze'ev, who said: "This feeling of responsibility is not necessarily a monopoly of one group."

"Record this, take notes; he will be our next leader," Albert Za'afrani, one of the active members of the Likud in Qiryat Shemonah, said to me.

"In the last 2 years we have witnessed the fact that this solidarity has not been understood by all Israelis--the fact that Jews are responsible for one another," Binyamin Ze'ev Begin continued. "At the extreme positions, not everything is clear."

"He is referring to the murder of Emil Gruenzweig," said one of those present.

Binyamin Ze'ev's two sisters, Leah and Hasyah, sat near the head table, and next to them were Aunt Yehudit and Miryam Perl, also members of the family. They appeared very excited, possibly because they too were surprised that Binyamin Ze'ev had exploited the platform to admonish the Jews a little.

The audience was also excited. Gedalyah Screibor, general director of Qeren Yeladenu, reminded him that Menahen Begin had promised that many more like Elon More would be established. "We are fortunate to hear similar words from Ze'ev, the son," he said.

Most of those presenting greetings during the ceremony mentioned Menahem Begin, for which they received applause. In the afternoon prayer service Rabbi Yehiel Buhbot, rabbi of Qiryat Shemonah, pronounced the blessing, "May the King of Kings guard him and save him from all trouble and distress." Minister Meridor was seen to shed a tear.

If Menahen Begin had been in Qiryat Shemonah yesterday and heard his son, his heart would have filled with pride, and perhaps also with the decision: My son Ze'ev shall be my heir.

Many in Qiryat Shemonah have already crowned him.

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CSO: 4423/8

RELATIONS WITH IVORY COAST, AFRICA EXAMINED IN WEEKLY MAGAZINE

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 25 Sep 83 p 2

/Article by Tamar Golan, MA'ARIV correspondent in Paris: "Ivory Coast President Complains of Arab Pressure Against Employment of Israelis in his Country/

/Text/ Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the president of the Ivory Coast, complained recently to Chadli Kleibi, secretary general of the Arab League, that the Arab states are exerting heavy pressure on him not to employ Israeli teams in his country, it was reported in JEUNE AFRIQUE, the Arab-African weekly that is published in Paris.

In its report of the extensive interview, which includes the decision of the Ivory Coast president to resume diplomatic relations with Israel, the newspaper adds some disclosures.

Following the report on the renewal of relations with Israel--apparently to be in mid-October (as reported in MA'ARIV a few days ago)--the newspaper reviews the various contacts established by Israel in Africa since 1973, and analyzes the crisis in relations between black Africa and the Arab world.

The report of the weekly, which is known in the Arab world as being relatively moderate, suffers from lack of details, but it includes several disclosures:

"Avi Frimor, chief of the African Division in the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accompanied Samuel Doe, president of Liberia, when the latter visited Togo last month, in an effort to persuade General Eyedema, president of Togo, also to resume relations with Israel."

"When Minister Ariel Sharon visited Gabon in November 1981, he was accompanied by Aryeh Ganger, who proposed that Gabon obtain missileships in Israel."

Not long ago, President Houphouet-Boigny had a conversation with a representative of the PLO, in which he said that he was not opposed to that organization's opening an office in Abidjan. Apparently this step was intended to win the sympathy of the Palestinians and the Arabs, in anticipation of the renewal of relations with Israel."

"According to American sources, the next three states to renew relations will be the Central African Republic, Gabon, and Kenya."

"During his secret African visit in 1981, Ariel Sharon, then minister of defense, also visited the Central African Republic. He expressed interest in uranium deposits, but the weekly claims that no agreement was concluded between the two countries."

"In August of this year an agreement for joint agricultural work was concluded between the Central African Republic and Israel."

Most surprisingly, JEUNE AFRIQUE supports the complaints of black Africa against the Arab world, and claims that the Arabs have made mistakes all along the line. Their fundamental mistake, in the opinion of the weekly, was the condition to which support for Africans was subject, namely, a written commitment to boycott Israel.

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## NEW MEDICAL KITBAG DEVELOPED

Tel Aviv BAMAHA in Hebrew No 7, 5 Oct 83 p 6

[Article: "Fitted Medical Kitbag Developed Based on Medical Corps Battle Experience"]

[Text] A new medical kitbag, containing all the necessary materials to administer first aid and which allows easy access to the wounded has been developed by the research and development branch of the medical corps in cooperation with the maintenance corps.

The advantage of the new kitbag is that it is fitted and the content is arranged in separate pockets which open and close with ease, allowing easy removal. What's more, the organization of the contents is not disturbed, even after some of the items have been removed.

The need for this kitbag was revealed 5 years ago, when IDF infantry units were conducting retaliatory operations against bases across the border. At that time, it became apparent that the kitbags in use did not meet the needs of active combat, and that their use was limited to a small number of medical personnel.

The prototype for the kitbag, called "Medical Kitbag for Special Operations," was tested during exercises and operations. After these experiences, appropriate changes were made and a model was authorized. All units in need of this type of bag have been supplied with them. After meeting with further success in the field, similar kitbags were produced to replace the five existing varieties of kitbags. A small number of designs were sewn for experimental purposes and were put to the test unexpectedly during the Galilee Peace War. The users were questioned and based on their observations, another new model was planned which, if it proves itself in operation, will become standard equipment.

The various new kitbags have been designed such that the internal and external construction are the same for all, despite their different uses. This will make production relatively inexpensive. The kitbags can be hand carried for a short distance, or carried on the back according to the situation.

When these kitbags go into use, they will also facilitate easy and rapid access for the medics. Packing and unpacking in the field will be simple and will eliminate the problems of "disorganization" that occur with the bags currently in use. The very nature of the bags will also inevitably mean less waste of supplies.

PELED MAY BE CHARGED WITH TREASON

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 6 Sep 83 p 7

[Article by Shemu'el Mittelman: "Charge of Treason Considered in the Mati Peled Case"]

[Text] The High Court of Justice yesterday considered advocate Yedidiya Beri's request to instruct the government's legal advisor to bring Gen (Res) Mati Peled to trial on charges of treason and aiding the enemy, as a result of his appearance and declarations in July 1982 in Europe with PLO representative 'Isam Sartawi.

The judges--Chief Justice Yitzhaq Kahan, Shoshana Natanyahu and Eli'ezer Goldberg--tabled the request.

Advocate Beri claims that, during news conferences in London and Paris, Peled stated that the IDF's activities in Lebanon were "unjustified, illegal and immoral" and that the IDF should withdraw from Lebanon and enter into negotiations with the PLO. These statements, according to Beri, aided the enemy in its war against Israel. Beri also attached the court's reluctance to make a decision on the matter.

Patriotic Activities

Mati Peled himself, in a statement submitted through advocate Amnon Zikhroni, vehemently denied Beri's charges, saying that his activities in Europe "fall well within the bounds of the basic rights granted to any citizen in a democratic state, even in time of war." He explained that he appeared with Sartawi at a news conference innocently and in the framework of a dialogue sponsored by the Israel-Palestine Council for Peace. In his opinion, this kind of dialogue is a "patriotic activity that advances the interests of Israel and her citizens," and a direct continuation of his life's work.

No Legal Basis

During the discussion, the government's legal advisor, Anat Yarak, asked for Beri's proposal to be denied flatly, on the grounds that it had no legal basis. He noted that he was honestly convinced that the investigation and the instigation of legal proceedings against Peled would be without substance and that there was no evidence to substantiate the claims against him. Advocate Yarak

emphasized that his considerations were not meant to interfere with the legal system. Moreover, the act of treason of which Peled was accused by Beri, was extremely sensitive and should be carefully examined by all parties.

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**STATUS, SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGIOUS ZIONISM VIEWED**

**Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 3 Oct 83 p 8**

[Article by Avraham Burg: "Religious Zionism: The Power and the Rift"]

[Text] Anyone taking a close look at Israeli society, past and present, would ask himself three questions:

--What happened to religious Zionism, which used to be a small political movement with limited power and has become the central force in Israel and Israeli policy today?

--How can the support and enthusiasm for Gush Emunim within the secular populace be explained, when only a short time ago, every skull cap was seen as an attempt to force religion on an unwilling secular population?

--What will the impact of closer affiliations between a secular state and religious ideology be on society?

On the face of things, it would appear that a two-fold crisis gave birth to a two-fold reaction. The crisis of traditional Judaism as a way of life, which occurred in the 18th century, and the crisis of a people developing a political and social identity in a national homeland were interrelated and required a joint, integrated, religious-Zionist solution, to wit: Gush Emunim.

A longer look at the picture shows that there are common areas and qualities shared by the religious and social crises. But, there are also conceptual differences and differences in the essence of the approach to both crises. The interaction between religious ideology and the secular, political power of the right in Israel is a short-term bond concealing a deep rift waiting to be revealed.

**Religious Zionist Revolution**

Religious Zionism traditionally knew its own limits. Its role was defined and its influence restricted to the permanent population of its supporters. This group expressed views on the pioneer movement and Zionist goals, but never had any significant power to impact on these processes. Most of the

efforts of religious Zionists were directed toward an ongoing struggle to preserve its own principles and existence. Religious Zionism never even tried to be a guiding force in the country, but was satisfied with protecting its own interests in its own backyard.

While the religious party restricted its political activities, it did, however, set up a separate educational network. The religious youth saw themselves, after the establishment of the State, as the bearers of the Torah to the people. They prepared themselves for the role of teacher and educator, not just for their own people, but for all the people of Israel. The teachings of Rabbi Cook were carried on by his disciples following his death. In the eyes of the religious Zionists, the skull cap replaced the pioneers' work shirt, and even took on greater importance.

The contradiction between a limited and limiting network and the feeling of an unlimited need to "spread the word" engendered frustration and the search for an outlet. This outlet was found in the Six-Day War. Israel's victory in that war was a testimony to Zionism--the territories became the realization of a 2,000 year old dream and the prophecies of Rabbi Cook became realities whose time had come. The frustration of years, the long preparation, the need to spread the word and the political situation all gave birth to the religious right wing.

#### Influence of Tradition

The Gush Emunim movement enjoys broad public support. It appears that this is the first time since the re-establishment of a Jewish community in Palestine that the religious population and ideology have gained the status of a guiding force with the power to determine the future of the State.

There are three sources of support for the movement. The first: As a result of the Zionist revolution, it became clear that despite all the efforts and contrary to all trends in education, Israeli society has not yet severed its ties with tradition. There is a growing distance and secularization, but, the influence of tradition remains strong. Most of the national symbols that any secular country would have (holidays, honorific events, etc.), in Israel find their roots in "halacha" and tradition. The Judeo-religious and Zionist-secular symbols feed off each other and contribute to each other's existence.

Actually, there are two societies in Israel, the secular and the religious, trying to secure their existence in two worlds--the former in the State and the latter in tradition. Each society has its own priorities and values, yet they have much in common and outside factors unite the two camps and smooth out their differences.

The second: The ongoing war forces the society into certain special behavioral patterns and makes it look for symbols and justifications out of its nationalistic past, of which there is no lack. It is no coincidence that the Hashmonites and Canaanites have become symbols of national identity. It is not difficult for the Gush Emunim people to present themselves as the

descendants of Mattathias--the founders of the religion, the disciples of Bar-Kokhva, the religious Messiah, and draw into their fold many who still identify with such symbols today.

The third: The Gush Emunim people are fighting for the Jewish soul, as they understand it, of the State of Israel. Their primary mission is to stop the secularization of Israeli society. Efforts to curb this process using the Torah as a tool failed. But the Eretz Yisrael question played right into their hands. According to them, the goal of a nation state is not just a holy objective, a "mitzvah" that must be carried out, or merely the establishment of a sovereign territory where the Messiah will come.

It is also a strategic objective now. They can now present their religious objectives as strategic goals (settlement, the territories, security) and using this tactic, reduce the camp of their opponents and draw their enemies closer in. This national incentive picks up souls from a secular populace looking for a plan and for meaning in the trying life of an Israeli citizen.

As time goes on, it becomes increasingly apparent--for those who predict a more integrated future for the two societies--that despite the common denominators between the Judeo-Zionists and the Judeo-secularists, the dynamics of the situation are creating an increasingly deep chasm between religion and secularism. The tension which was originally the stimulus of progress, has become a destructive force with no real prospect for resolution. At the political level, we might predict that the religious Zionists will move closer toward Agudat Yisrael. While at the social level, alienation is reaching a peak. Why?

In Israel, the religious movement has autonomy in many ways; it has been an autonomy that has extended itself even into the political field and set a precedent of "we can do anything." Religion and religious institutions had a free hand insofar as education and appointment of religious leaders, as well as having a significant impact on national issues. Often they are at odds with the secular state and address different problems. Often they deny the right of a sovereign state, of any sovereign power except God. This, too, is the source of destructive tension which in the end will result in frustration and bitterness beyond our imagination.

The secular society, which does not want to be tied to a traditional foundation, and the religious society, which cannot exist on a secular foundation, must both find a common means for existence. If not, we shall be lost!

9811  
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'PROFUSION' OF PRINTED MEDIA DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew No 41, 14 Sep 83 p 25

[Article by Doron Rosenblum: "The Pile"]

[Text] "A man who does not read at all is more knowledgeable than a man who reads only newspapers" (Thomas Jefferson).

Randolph Hearst, the well-known newspaper giant, had a habit of placing a copy of his paper on the floor, turning the pages with his foot and deeming each page which from that distance did not catch his eye to be a journalistic failure, based only on this cursory review. Given the upheavals that Israeli newspapers today are undergoing, especially at the end of the long week marked by the Jewish New Year, which made the almost absurd pile of "holiday newspapers" and special editions to apparent, it is hard to image whether the reading habits of the average Israeli are really much different than the system used by Hearst. Who, if anyone, can physically read such quantities? Moreover, is it really intended to be read?

This happy-go-lucky profusion of newspapers, special editions and sections, local inserts, and the various glossy supplements offered at the newsstand to whet the appetite--not only on holidays but every weekend--makes one wonder whether we are actually faced wtth some Jewish mutation of the Hearst method, without the obvious benefits: It appears that the number of pages is more important today than the content; that the competition is based on weight. Perhaps, as with 'Aridor's economic policy, the issues are based on gimmicks, quantity and color, and the real work (or art) of the journalist has become--like trees-lost in a forest.

It is a fact that despite the increasing number of pages, there has been no increase in the number of journalists worth reading; to the contrary--the really good ones are being swallowed up and lost among the gimmicky writers or they are being spread thin across the enormous expanse of pages. All in all, it appears that the reading of holiday or weekend editions, as a result of the gimmicks and the sheer quantity, is today merely an act of turning and looking, more than actually reading-looking at the notices and the pictures, and perhaps at a few headlines. It is therefore as if journalism has become an extension of sorts of the television medium, instead of becoming deeper

and more qualitative, instead of increasing the power of the written word. If in the past reading a newspaper required concentration and ability, the profusion today requires no more than physical ability: to carry it home, leaf through it, read the one important article and throw it away with no pangs of conscience.

The situation is disconcerting, especially to those who still value the written word. Let us assume that a person, contrary to his custom, goes out and buys the whole pile of available papers, out of some traditional curiosity to know the news: the evening papers have already become giant dossiers with extra pages stuffed in every which way--supplements, local inserts, glossy ads with full-color photographs, like a tossed salad (in the near future, perhaps a full-color, life-sized portrait of the prime minister--Shamir?). The papers include section one, section two, section three and four; and on top of it all, like a rotting strawberry on a layer cake, is the gossip section, with a detailed survey, in descending order, on the odors of every public bathroom in town.

Now, on every never-ending weekend, and in three different newspapers, you can read about the sweaty slob who ordered a guitar-shaped cake at last night's party, or about the man who stood on his head at the corner near his house, and whistled Dixie. We are still overlooking the essence of the content--deserving of separate treatment. We have thus far only touched on those sections which are truly a joy to "read". For 3 days running, the average citizen, with the entire pile in hand, has read more about the man standing on his head at the corner than about any international event, dwarfed as these have been by local events. Then the man standing on his head loses importance in the face of the women caught between the mattress and the wall. Then the guitar-shaped cake becomes far more interesting. One's hands by this time are black with newsprint as the job opportunities section gets mixed up with the annual summary and world sports, and the want ads have been blown onto the balcony by the wind. While you're lying back and reading, the special advertising supplement crushes against your forehead and the ads for pocket calculators or package travel deals to the Black Forest flatten your chest, along with a pound of congratulatory messages and best wishes ("Best Wishes for the New Year to the President, the IDF and All Israel, from Zalman and Co. Repair Service--Automatic Transmission Specialists"). The entire pile, rumpled and disheveled as it is, still shouts: Read me, read me cover to cover! Don't throw me away! I've tried so hard to be noticed! Read me before next weekend's pile comes home!" Suddenly, our naive reader realizes that he's already seen the article on the morality of the last war, with the ad for a water filter in the lower right hand corner--at least half an hour ago, or last week, or last year.

The profusion of holiday issues has become a routine, which through inertia continues each season--and repeats itself with a rhythm of sorts, like the annual repetition of daily prayers (in a surprisingly conservative way, given the endless upheavals and Hearstian changes seen in the daily papers). Once again, we see the interview with the Chief of Staff on next year's reserve

service, the current round table discussions, the theater in review, the year in sports, film awards and the on-going debate over the Hebrew calendar months of Alul and Isshreh (this despite the fact that all year long, the Hebrew date does not exist in the conscious of the secular newspaper). And once again, in the literature section, the same work by the same pedagogue or cult leader, books on aging and a classic photograph of an old woman in Jerusalem carrying a stew pot through the alleyways, and so on and so forth. Once again, the same in-depth interview with the Jewish Agency spokesman, hand placed dramatically on his heart, and so on and so forth.

On the other hand (and not just to break the routine), we might note the advantages of the "pile": First, in contrast to the recent upheavals--the pile is like a secular outpouring of Israeli society. The veteran Israeli newspaper institution took the onus upon itself, almost in spite of itself, perhaps because of the political anomaly of religion in Israel. It appears that nowhere in the world are there daily papers that come as close to reaching deep within the "collective spirit" as the holiday papers in Israel: Starting with a history of the Caliphs of Zohar, and running through Dear Abby and the last military campaign-all on the same page. Second, maybe precisely in contrast to the quote from Jefferson, it is possible that in Israel the man who reads only books is a less educated man, in some ways, than the man who reads only newspapers. The fact is that the effort put out by some newspapers to produce the holiday editions sometimes pays off--sometimes the result is a concentration of quality material which should in no way be underrated or treated lightly (and the newest cult rabbi's article on the lack of harmony among Israwlis may indeed be quite true and quite important). And the interview in HA'ARETZ with Kurtzwell is something everyone should read, don't you think? And most important--this profusion of paper, which we are all a part of, is the "watchdog" of democracy. It will never allow us to be led blindly into a catastrophe. But should that happen, no matter. At least there will be a special color supplement in honor of the event.

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PRESS AGENCY CALLS FOR BOYCOTT OF SHARON

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 21 Sep 83 p 2

[Text] The Jerusalem Reporters' Association instructed its members to immediately cease covering any event in which Minister Sharon participates. Herut's spokesman described the decision as a serious infringement on democracy and a step toward dictatorship of the press.

Chairman of the Reporters' Association in Jerusalem, Gabi Baron, said that the instruction for members was given as a protest for "continued harassment of the media which Sharon has been conducting for a long time." He pointed out that a recent example to this harassment happened on 19 September in a public appearance of the minister in Jerusalem. Sharon asked the audience: "Who is the media?" And the audience retorted: "The PLO, the PLO."

The Reporters' Association in Jerusalem will not rescind its decision until Sharon apologizes and until it is proven that he has totally stopped this harassment, which endangers reporters in the process of performing their job. In addition, the Association approached the National Reporters' Association as well as the Association of Foreign Correspondents asking them to join the Jerusalem group. The national organization did not approve this move.

Announcement by the National Association

The National Reporters' Association announced on 20 September that the systematic harassment conducted by Minister Sharon against all the media shows his yearning for totalitarianism, in thought and deed. Whoever tries to represent the media as aiding the enemy excludes himself from being debated with. Israeli reporters will continue to guard freedom of thought, and freedom of information and speech, as befits a modern society. Chairman of the Television Reporters' Association, Uri Goldstein, will recommend to his colleagues in the news department that they not accept the Reporters' Association instructions not to cover appearances by Sharon. Goldstein said that this decree takes from under their feet the very basis of democracy, namely, the right for everyone to express his thoughts. "We will not assume the role of censors. The public is the one to judge the value of what is said," he added. "With all the reservation I have about this move, I will recommend that television continue to cover Sharon's appearances.

Herut's spokesman, Yossi Baron, in reacting to the decision made by the Jerusalem Reporters' Association, said that it is inconceivable that the media can have the right to criticize and badmouth while public officials are prohibited from criticizing the media.

#### Sharon's Reaction

Minister Ari'el Sharon published the following reaction: "The boycott against me is nothing new. It is only a confirmation of an existing situation in most of my appearances in front of thousands of people in the country.

"According to this strange moral principle of the reporters, they are allowed to write and say anything about me; verbal violence, verging on incitement to murder, including any lies, is allowed, while I, according to some people's concept, have to have my hands tied and my mouth shut. About 30-50 people are trying to institute a dictatorship by the media and I am prevented from responding."

#### Labor Demands Sharon's Removal

The reaction committee of the Labor Party demanded the removal of the minister without portfolio in view of the "insults and abusive statements he has been making incessantly against the investigation commission headed by Judge Cohen."

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NEWSCASTERS SAID TO HAVE INFLUENCED DEVELOPMENT OF HEBREW

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 21 Sep 83 p 14

[Article by 'Amos Ben-Vered]

[Text] "How was it said in Genesis: 'Everyone who heareth will laugh at me?' Or how exactly was it said?" Prof Tur-Sinay addressed this question, with a certain amount of anger, to one of his students in a Hebrew exercise at the Hebrew University in the Terra Sancta Building. "I am not familiar with the quotation," responded the student, after hesitating for a while. The wrong vowel in "familiar" was particularly noticeable.

The famous linguist's face was red with rage. "You are impudent," he yelled. "Not only do you not know every quotation from the Bible, and this in itself would be desirable, but you have the nerve to come to my class and mispronounce 'familiar'." He purposely stressed the wrong vowel. The student got the message, collected his books and left the room quietly.

This would not have happened today. The student would not have left the room. He would have continued his studies and received a Ph.D. in the Hebrew language. Not just one professor says "Aharon ve Moshe" [gramatically wrong] etc. Anyone who does not believe had better listen to the various broadcasts of university courses.

When the state was established, there was one radio station, which for the most part, determined how people ought to talk, or at least what was considered proper language, the Hebrew of educated people. There were many graduates of Hebrew high schools in Poland and Lithuania and also graduates of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem there. The radio station had a language adviser, the late Dr Baruch Har'el, and for a long time not one word was broadcast which did not undergo editing by him.

It was then that a power struggle started. The news department decided to create a new precedent. The newscasters themselves were to decide what constituted proper Hebrew. In the struggle between Hebrew and newscasters, the newscasters won. The rebels at the news department then were not ignorant. Some have died since and I will not mention their names. At least two of the then editors, Ari Avner and Chaim Eisek, are not only educated, but possess real love of the Hebrew language. It is precisely they who caused the

destruction of beautiful and proper language. It is not that Baruch Har'el's Hebrew was any better than that of Avner or Eisek. The author, who helped him, heard Har'el himself admit that he did not know old Hebrew very well, or for that matter much liked its complex structure; he actually detested rabbinical lingo. Many times they went to the "rabbi" (Tur-Sinay) to find out the proper form of a word, or the way to form its plural form, and changed, if necessary, a radio announcement. But the debate within the radio was not on language, this was just the excuse. The struggle was on who was to make decisions. After decisions like this were made, it was no longer possible to ensure than Anver and Eisek would be followed by scholars of their caliber. With radio's expansion and the addition of television, language editing disappeared altogether.

The author helped Dr Har'el write instruction manuals for radio announcers and editors, and they noticed bad translation examples. 'Piano pieces,'--so they wrote--are not 'Klavierstuecke' as in German. No one can play on piano pieces. Only if someone were to break a piano would there be piano pieces. It is possible, however, to play pieces for piano, or better still, music pieces for the piano.

This was not a question of foreign words used as such, purposely and consciously. Unlike the Fund for the Hebrew Language (KELA), headed by Dr Moshe Etter, the author does not think that this is the danger. Every language absorbs from the dominant language in the world or in its region. English and most of the European languages have many French words. Today's French word for "interview" is the English one and the pilot's seat is referred to in French as "cockpit." In modern German a fired person is called "gefuerert," from the English "to fire" and jeans are "jeans" in Japanese, too. The important thing is to be careful of the meaning and pronunciation of foreign words. It is important for educated people not to say "pseudon," thinking that "pseudonym" is a plural form. It is important they not say "messting" instead of "mess tin" and that they know that the "sealed beam" of a car is a foreign word and that its singular form is not "sealb." Anyone who wants to fancy up his speech with words such as "style," "parameters," etc. is no different from those who introduced into Hebrew words like "gymnasium," or "theater."

In one of the university broadcasts the author heard a professor, and a prominent one at that, say ditch when he really meant aquaduct, as if the subject matter were a horses trough. He also mispronounced "gynecologist" to the point that it sounded more like "geneticist."

Ignorance of the Latin and Greek sources of most Western languages is prevalent even among the most educated. It causes funny errors and distortions. "Consensus," so widely used by everyone, including government ministers, has nothing to do with "census" which means counting or a fine. The word stems from "con sensus," meaning a common connotation or opinion. People do not know English, either. Who shoots horses too, or hitchhikers? Or archeologists? The quotation is made by those who do not understand the title of the recent movie "They Shoot Horses, Don't They?" The meaning is that horses are shot when they are injured in order to shorten their suffering. This is what happened to Jane Fonda in the movie. There was no "too" there.

At one point linguists were divided into two main schools. The first, headed by Prof Tur-Sinay, maintained that language has to be developed organically, that innovations should be made according to existing rules and declensions. This large school was opposed, almost singly, by a young teacher named Hayim Rosen. He advocated going to kindergarten children to find out from them what Hebrew was going to be like in the next generation.

The author says that had he known then what he knows now, having abandoned the study of the humanities for the sake of more practical matters, he would not have ridiculed Rosen's students. He would have checked who the "elite" were, what their educational background was, what emphasis they put on correct speech. He would have arrived even then at the conclusion that even Rosen was not pessimistic enough.

Moshe Sharet used to hold up the publication of the Knesset's minutes until he had a chance to check them over and personally correct the punctuation of his speeches. Files of the Foreign Ministry reveal that at one time he responded to an ambassador's report with a 4 page telegram in which he explained why "the U.S. thinks" is the correct form, not "the U.S. think." He concluded the telegram with the following words: As to the subject matter itself, you will receive a letter.

Whether this is a true story or not, the point is that proper Hebrew was among the desired qualifications for major appointments at the Foreign Ministry. Like Sharet, the then Education Minister, David Remez, was meticulous in his speech. In the days before the establishment of the state, Yitzhaq Ben-Tzvi once mispronounced a word and the representatives all jeered him.

Since then others have reached the top: former IDF officers who made their own contribution to the language. "'Al menat" changed meaning, under their influence, from "on condition that" to "in order that." Ministers, with the exception of Prime Minister Begin, use incorrect language. The same applies to IDF major generals, general managers of government ministries and even chief education officers. Anyone who insists on proper language, such as Member of Knesset Abba Eban, is ridiculed.

There are those among social studies scholars who think that the new democracy, where top positions are shared by echelons which in previous generations never made it to the parliaments, is responsible for confusion and mistakes. They cite examples from other countries. But in the large Western democracies it is inconceivable that a person who makes grammatical mistakes using his own language can get very far. Margaret Thatcher took not one, but two courses in which she learned how to pronounce words in her own native tongue.

In the Israeli Knesset today, there are only two members out of 120, who can be consulted on Latin grammar. There are perhaps a dozen who know Hebrew grammar. It is doubtful whether there are even 5 who can correctly pronounce "leshakhot 'avoda." Following the disappearance of the gutteral "'a" and "kh," the proper "r" sound is also in the process of vanishing from broadcasts. Street speech is used not only in soccer reports. Most people write as they talk. Very few--notably Yitzhaq Nyon--dare to be different. The author

himself, with all humility, compromises and uses language in a way he himself considers wrong. After all, he writes for his readers, not for himself.

There was a time when the various synonyms of "because" were distinguishable from one another. It was the correct word that was used to describe clothes hanging out to dry. When a famous Jerusalem coffee house was closed down there were numerous discussions on the wording of the notice which was placed on its doors. The wording was considered grossly incorrect.

The two word combination describing a living creature was often misused and much commented on.

Today the discussion on such issues is merely academic. Baruch Sasson, A. Abirut, Y.L. Ben-'Or and sometimes Re'uvan Sivan, hold discussions over the press, whether the correct pronunciation, for example, is "smolani" or "smalani," "Isra'eli" or "Isre'eli," as if it were still the Tur-Sinay era. This is an ivory tower dispute. Students on their way to finals complain that they are forced to learn "such nonsense," and forget them immediately after the test, just as they forget algebraic equations and literary Arabic. After all, no one talks like this.

Today's shop windows are full of signs which could only mean "a coat for a two-sided man" of "glasses for unbreakable tea." Recently the author found signs in the PX saying "underwear for a white man" for one price and "underwear for a colored man" for another price. Apartheid? Not necessarily. The old time jokes and the longtime examples of misuse have become today's reality. The dispute in Qol-Israel's microcosmos is what determined the terrible nature of today's language. It is that which caused the dying of proper Hebrew to the point that linguistics professors are no longer willing to state what is correct and what is wrong. What determined things was that newscasters led the way, by personal example, that linguists' authority no longer counts. This is what came out of radio. Correct Hebrew is what everyone decides for himself. The language adviser is considered a nuisance. If he is strong he remains lonely and bitter. If he is weak he gives in and ignores what he knows to be wrong.

The other media followed radio. Some now employ stylists who are themselves students of present day teachers who, too, make a lot of common grammatical errors. Even Qol Israel's children's programming, where the future generation is being taught, understood the hint. One such show, called ala's Eraser, has a grammatical error in its very title. On Friday nights a rabbi appears on TV and mispronounces the title of his own book: abat U La Vein (should be Labat ve la bein).

It is acceptable in the world today that news, especially live reports, is the guage of the quality of the language. It serves as a lighthouse by which everyone navigates. Those who do not come from a university or an aristocratic home, where proper speech is nurtured, learn to speak like announcers or theater actors, if they want to be considered educated at all. At least they can speak like this, even if among their friends they still speak differently. In Israel, announcers do not speak consistently and the educated public is apparently tired of debates among linguists. The Hebrew language was dealt a death blow in the fifties in the news room of Qol Israel. Its slow demise is still going on.

It is possible to ask what is so bad if there is no agreement on language among educated Israelis, as there is in other countries. The answer is that in the age of a professional explosion, when the number of professions is growing at a geometric progression, there is an increasing need for communication. Every year new professions are added, which did not exist before and which people fail to explain to each other. Maintaining some sort of standards requires more concentration on some common base which enables communication: arithmetic, some general education, as well as a spoken and written language, which are sufficient for communicating and understanding of the surroundings. In addition, computers are beginning to be an integral part of life. We will have to learn to talk to them. They require accuracy. In the end, a situation may form, in which we can talk FORTRAM or COBOL, or even basic English, but not Hebrew. We will thus bury Eli'ezer Ben-Yehuda's work, to which many have devoted a lifetime.

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BRIEFS

ROAD CONSTRUCTION AROUND JERUSALEM--An Israeli Ministry of Housing plan to cut the greatest possible number of new roads around Jerusalem assures that there won't be excessive reliance on the limited number of principal roads. Currently the ministry is beginning to cut a road connecting the Jerusalem--Ramallah road with the Jerusalem--Jericho road around the area of the Jerusalem airport to pass to the east of Jaba' village on to the Jerusalem--Jericho road. [Text] [Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 14 Sep 83 p 2] 9587

NEW EXITS PERMITS FOR GAZA--The authorities have lifted the ban that was imposed on the residents of Ghaza town. They are now permitted to leave the Strip via Egypt and Amman. The residents of Jabaliya still are banned, however, with the exception of women, children, and elderly people over 60 years of age. [Text] [Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 22 Sep 83 p 1]

BROADCASTING AUTHORITY'S FINANCIAL TROUBLE--The Israel Broadcasting Authority will not be able to pay salaries to its employees beginning in the month of December, because of their dire financial straits. In a letter sent last week to Professor Re'uven Yaron from David Admon, chairman of the Broadcasting Authority's Finance Committee, Admon said: "Only a short time ago, I took the position as chairman of the Broadcasting Authority's Finance Committee and I was shocked by its horrendous financial situation." Admon points out that after thoroughly examining the Authority's expenditures for the first half of the year, he predicts a deficit of around 600 million shekels (a 280 million shekel deficit was originally anticipated; more than 300 million is now expected as a result of the government's latest policies). In Admon's opinion, the Broadcasting Authority should meet immediately to decide on a strategy for balancing the budget. "I feel compelled to point out that if the Authority's management does not do what is called for immediately, the management and administration will bear moral responsibility for the consequences." A reliable source in the Broadcasting Authority verified yesterday that their financial situation is indeed very serious and that "There is some talk of bankruptcy." However, the same source also noted that general manager Yosef Lapid had already effected cutbacks to "prevent a catastrophe." Among other things, he gave instructions to cut back on overtime as follows: By 20 percent for radio staff, 10 percent for television and 15 percent for employees of Arab language programs, both radio and television. [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 6 Sep 83 p 9] 9811

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NUMBER OF EXPATRIATES IN GOVERNMENTAL MINISTRIES TO FALL

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1397, 12 Aug 83 pp 52, 53

[Article: "Kuwait Deports the Newcomers...Gently!"]

[Text] When events follow each other in close succession, and people are unable to realize their causes or extent, and find no convincing official explanation to throw light on the subject, then room is left over for rumors. Facts become mixed up with lies and the delusions of people's imaginations, so that it is hard to distinguish one from the other. These lies and delusions might become the only truths people believe in. Rumors play their evil role with respect to both morale and physical matters. However, the situation in Kuwait is a complete exception to this rule, since the events are clear, while the officials are interpreting them and explaining their causes and their extent fully in their statements in the newspapers, as well as in the pulpits of the national assembly, with the newspapers publishing the details of its discussions session by session. Nevertheless, rumors are still a cause of and a tool for achieving circulation, since the local newspapers greet their readers every morning with titles which stimulate in the citizens and newcomers alike feelings of worry, frustration and disappointment. This is especially true for those whom time or fortune have not permitted to achieve even a small measure of their dreams of success. Thus, the newcomers themselves—and they are many—are confused about their situation and torn by worry over their fate. They are asking themselves whether their livelihoods in Kuwait will be cut off now, meaning they will inevitably leave in the near future!

Fear began to creep into the hearts of the newcomers when the petroleum sector terminated the services of some of its non-Kuwaiti employees. This was a natural result of the shortfall in Kuwait's oil revenues. However, the newcomers felt sure that their roles in various other sectors would come next.

Only a few days later, the Ministry of Education announced its intention to stop the distribution of the daily meals and school clothes which it had been accustomed to passing out to the students for free since modern schools were first set up in Kuwait. The rumor spread that the ministry would stop providing free books and school buses. However, the Ministry of Education moved to deny it had any intention to stop providing free books.

It seems that the Ministry of Education wanted to be the first one to rise to the Kuwaiti Government's call to hold down expenditures, since it did not hesitate to terminate the services of more than 400 teachers. At the same time, the hiring committee was moving to appoint more than 1,000 from the local market, with the newspapers publishing lists of some of their names. This stimulated questions and rumors. Dr Ya'qub al-Ghanim, the minister of education, responded to them in a statement he gave to the newspapers. In this statement, he announced that the number of teachers who were resigning or whose services were being dispensed with amounted to 1,300. Those who were being dispensed with either had been appointed recently or represented specializations which were in abundant supply, following the consolidation of some curricula and the estimation of performance criteria for each teacher in accordance with the new curricula. However, the rumors continued to take on form, color and direction.

The Ministry of Health followed in the footsteps of the Ministry of Education and announced that it intended to charge fees for medical examinations and a token fee for medicine at the hospitals. It justified this with its desire to make patients exercise self-control, and let them know they cannot obtain everything they want so easily that they can afford to indulge in excess!

The Ministry of Electricity and Water announced that it had sent to the cabinet a suggestion that electricity rates be raised, not merely in order to obtain revenue for the state, but also to force consumers to be economical in their consumption, thereby decreasing the burden on the power plants and lowering the chance of the current being cut off due to excessive consumption. The finance committee of the national assembly submitted a recommendation as an addendum to the 1983/84 budget which would allow the government to review the fees which the citizens currently pay for services. However, the deputies expressed their fear that this recommendation would lead to increased prices for electricity, water and other services, under the guise of guiding expenditures. The recommendation was turned aside, though the minister of finance declared that guiding expenditures would not be accomplished at the expense of the common man, but would simply limit excess utilization of the state's resources. One deputy who opposed the recommendation said it paved the way for leaving the field open for the state to act in the assembly's absence as it had with regard to raising gas prices. It is well known that the government raised fuel prices last year, with the prices of some types of fuel increasing by more than 100 percent.

The last three sessions of the national assembly held before the end of its normal term exposed new tendencies on the part of both the executive and the legislative structures of Kuwait. This was expressed by one of the newspapers, on the front page, "The Alarm Is Sounded: Fewer Employees, Imposition of Taxes Demanded."

The first session was devoted to continuing the discussion of the general state budget. It became clear that the state's budget deficit was 568 million dinars, with the increase in general expenditures being 400 million dinars. This moved the parliamentary finance committee to decrease the second and third sections. The decrease in the third section amounted to 165,600 dinars.

It has been noted that the deputies did not go back and focus on facilitations and concessions for the citizens, as they had been accustomed to do in previous years. Rather, in the last sessions, they did a turnaround and called for having the citizens participate in bearing the responsibility for the country and carry out the duties incumbent upon them in return for the rights they receive. The deputies demanded that there be no competition and outbidding to satisfy the citizens at the expense of the public good. One deputy called for an increase in fees and the imposition of taxes. Another called for taxes to be imposed on rich merchants. It became clear that the provision to lower the cost of travel tickets for soldiers and policemen had been cancelled.

On the other hand, a number of deputies took turns striking blows at the policy of employing newcomers. They demanded that the proportion of non-Kuwaiti employees be lowered to 50 percent. The points of view of both the government and the assembly agreed on this matter. Statistics show that Kuwaiti employees represent 35 percent of all workers, while the non-Kuwaitis represent 65 percent. The workers number 144,000 in all, with 97,000 being non-Kuwaiti employees. One parliamentary deputy demanded that 25,000 of the latter be dispensed with, with Kuwaitis taking their places and thereby reducing their own unemployment and saving the money spent on services for the non-Kuwaitis. He also demanded that salaries be cut. They now cost 729 million dinars, or 100 million more than last year.

Mr Jasim al-Saqr, chairman of the national assembly's foreign affairs committee, described the budget as frightening, the conditions reflected in it as dangerous, and inflation as being worse than is commonly admitted and stronger than in the past, while the citizenry is accustomed to taking without giving, to committing itself to nothing, and to doing nothing.

A large number of national assembly members criticized the government's employment policy, saying there were ministries which had exceeded the employment ceiling. They said the state's agencies were suffering from poor distribution, from the inflation of the corps of employees, and from the failure to utilize its productive capacity in the best way.

The desire to control expenditures did not stop here. While discussing the state's general budget, the parliament clearly wanted to cut 124 million dinars from the "conferences" clause, which is part of the fifth section of the budget. The subject was discussed in a subsequent secret session which lasted five and a quarter hours, during which Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abd Allah al-Salim al-Sabah, heir to the throne and prime minister, read a statement to the assembly in which he explained the government's point of view on the matter of supporting the confrontation state. He said the Arab Nation was exposed to a threat from Israel, and that the Syrian army was confronting that threat. He said it was not right to prevent support from going to this Arab army in such difficult circumstances. He pointed out that the subject of support represented a Kuwaiti commitment given at the Arab summit conferences. This was repeated by Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad, the assistant prime minister and minister of foreign affairs and information,

in a subsequent address. On the basis of this, a majority of the assembly rejected cutting 124 million dinars of support and decided to return 105 million dinars to the clause. This sum represents Kuwait's commitments made at the Tunis and Baghdad conferences. The assembly decided to cut 19 million dinars, which are the commitments made by Kuwait at the 'Amman conference. This was done by a narrow majority of 28 to 26, with 6 abstentions. Nevertheless, it was a majority. The result was significant, and indicated certain tendencies.

One of the strange things that can be mentioned is that, when some newspapers published the news of the tendency toward lowering support, and the rumors seized on this and began to say it meant that government support for some basic goods would be cut, one newspaper fell into the rumor trap and confirmed them, saying that 37 million dinars would be cut from commodity supports. The merchants caught on quickly and began to reap the fruits of this new item, which was then proved wrong. However, they had already raised the prices of some goods, including sugar. The price of a bag of sugar rose from 4.5 dinars to 6.5.

#### **Why is the nation of Kuwait turning to these austerity measures?**

All the evidence and official statements indicate that Kuwait is passing through exceptional and highly sensitive and difficult circumstances due to the decline in oil prices, which are the country's main source of income, and the world recession, as well as political matters which affect its economic position, such as the Iran-Iraq war and the bad situation in Lebanon. There is also the disaster which occurred in the market for financial paper, with the attendant large losses suffered by scores of merchants and small-time stock brokers. This directly influenced bank liquidity and the economics of the state, which sought to compensate some merchants for a portion of their losses and helped the banks by pumping funds into their treasuries.

Officials in Kuwait say it is the right of the state--indeed, of any state--to treat its economic affairs with the tools it considers sufficient to ward off disintegration, as long as it does not violate international law and agreements. Similarly, Kuwait is free to take whatever economic measures it chooses, including holding down expenditures, dismissing employees, or imposing taxes and fees for services.

#### **But to what extent are the newcomers being hurt by these measures?**

An official source who asked that his name not be mentioned answered this question by saying: "Taxes and fees for services are found in all the countries of the world. As for dispensing with the services of the newcomers, this was something everyone who came to the country had to take into account. However, Kuwait will not do what Nigeria, for example, did, when it expelled all its foreigners between one day and the next. Kuwait has ethics and traditions which keep it from committing such an act, no matter what its economic circumstances might be. It would not expel even those who entered the country and dwelt here by illegal and illegitimate ways in a day and

a night. Instead, it has warned them, given them more than two months, and simplified departure procedures. And when the Ministry of Education recently dispensed with the services of some of its teachers, it did not move to cancel their residence permits. Rather, it let them try to find other jobs in the country or put their affairs in order at their own convenience.

Nevertheless, the newcomers to Kuwait feel the hour of departure has drawn near. They are repeating the words of the poet Badawi al-Jabal: "The time is upon us, and one must go."

12224  
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ANALYSIS OF LEBANESE CHRISTIAN MARONITE RIVALRIES

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 23 Aug 83 p 7

[Article: "Lebanon: a Victim Caught Between the Phalangist-Israeli Stick and Sham'un's Attempts to Exploit the Rifts"]

[Text] Rumors are still, up to now, carrying news about the return of the Phalange-Sham'un rivalry to the front, so that some began giving it many interpretations, the most marked of which are:

First, there is an upcoming battle in Lebanon in which Camille Sham'un wants to define for himself a specific position and a special role in the fighting or in the ensuing negotiations.

Second, Sham'un has sensed the Phalange's weakness in controlling the situation and moving in the direction desired by the government. So, he wanted to turn this situation to his advantage and to exploit the gaps in order to improve his standing and propel his party anew to a position of power within the framework of the Lebanese Front.

Third, Sham'un wants to lead the Christian Maronite street opposition himself, now that the Phalange Party has assumed power and he has taken to the street. That is the reason he attacked Raymond Iddih with a view to cutting him off from this slow turnaround which started about a year ago.

Fourth, Sham'un feels that the country is going to witness important events, whether in the direction of its unity or in the opposite direction. Therefore, he wants to assure himself a share proportionate to his size, ability and role.

Of course, the Phalange was right behind Sham'un. They scored a series of points against him in order to waylay his ambitions. They threatened, through their leader, Pierre al-Jumayyil, to use force to decide who is stronger and [thus] who is the victor and the vanquished.

In other words, the Phalange remained Sham'un and the various Islamic and national parties that they have not turned into a party of authority but are ready at any moment to return to the street and bear arms once again, even though the president of the republic is a leading member of their politburo.

Furthermore, the Phalange indicated in their recent statements their readiness to bet again on the Israeli option as a substitute for the American option (which they adopted in the wake of last year's invasion) in the event that certain sides insisted on blackmailing them with the force of Israeli pressure.

Observers believe that by inviting Arens, and before him, Sharon, to visit the eastern district, the Phalange intended to reaffirm their readiness and desire to re-weave [i.e., reformulate] their relations with Israel should their endeavors with Washington to impose a withdrawal of Israeli and foreign forces from Lebanon fail.

These observers believe that the Phalange purposely raised the issue of Sham'un's son's visit to Israel and Sham'un's meeting with an Israeli official in Ashrafiyah [i.e., the eastern or Christian sector of Beirut] in order to undermine him and harm his relations with some Israeli sides who may consider exchanging its Phalange option with an anti-Phalange-Sham'un option.

#### **Imminent Fateful Possibilities**

Thus, Lebanon is going to find itself, during the coming weeks, before some decisive turning points in its life, ranging from the possibility of agreement on the principle of disengagement and total Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, provided that Syria agreed on a timetable to withdraw its forces, to the possibility of non-agreement and of the forces remaining in place fighting one another, with the introduction of some modifications to the map of troop deployment in the mountain.

This oscillation between total withdrawal and partial withdrawal is reinforced by the preponderance of the existing rivalry between American policy and French policy, inasmuch as a continuation of this rivalry means continued fragmentation, while a cessation of this rivalry means a deadlock and a breakdown, albeit temporary, in the situation in Lebanon.

If the Franco-American rivalry is based on the incompatibility of the two lines in the Middle Eastern and Lebanese policies, the Sham-un-Phalange rivalry is based on the incompatibility of the two parties in the policy of alliances, be it with Israel or America. Continuation of this rivalry means continuation of the American-Israeli disagreement on the issue of withdrawal, and a deadlock in the rivalry means American-Israeli agreement on the issue of withdrawal.

Between the Franco-American rivalry and the Sham'un-Phalange rivalry, the Israeli option remains the strongest and most conspicuous in the game of the power struggle in Lebanon and against Lebanon. The possibility of Sham'un using the Israeli stick is a real one, should the Phalange keep

on betting on Washington's policy, and the possibility of the Phalange returning to the use of the Israeli stick is also a real one, should Washington fail in its current policy. At the same time, they are afraid that Sham'un will exploit their internal weaknesses.

In the fact of these serious turning points and numerous twists, the skies seem overcast and dark because the prevailing line in relations between the powers is the line of escalation and turning to violence to solve differences. Herein lies the essence of the Lebanese tragedy.

12502  
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LEBANESE FEDERATION AS POLITICAL OPTION ANALYZED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 341, 3 Sep 83 pp 18-19

[Article by Ghassan Bayram: "Washington Secretly Polls the Lebanese on Federalism"]

[Text] Beirut: After French President Mitterrand proposed a federated union in Chad to end the war there, many informed politicians and people in the Lebanese capital began imagining President Reagan standing up after a while to propose a federal solution to the Lebanese problem.

This possibility is no longer mere speculation and imagination as it once was, but has turned, in the opinion of some political leaders, into a matter that political observers can pose and discuss. This solution may ultimately be the way out being sought by the United States, and perhaps by some other friendly and fraternal countries whose only concern regarding the Lebanese question is to reach an agreement on a solution, any solution. Otherwise, why persist in complicating and entangling matters in Lebanon, returning them to the dark tunnel that has no visible end.

The United States, committed to finding a solution to the Lebanese crisis, is presently being accused by some of its friends in Lebanon and the region of collusion and of ostensibly playing the solution game while planning for other things in the area, or of impotence despite its greatness and might.

When some Lebanese sides talk about America's friends in the area, the only one that comes to mind is Egypt. Throughout recent times, the Egyptians have been the most daring of friends in questioning not only the credibility of the American position, but U.S. intentions as well. It is being said in this regard that Egypt has been beseeching, warning and drawing attention to this role in Lebanon. There are those who do not doubt that part of the mission of Egyptian presidential envoy Usamah al-Baz to Lebanon dealt with this very subject.

It is further being said in Lebanese political circles, and behind the scenes, that France, the great European ally of the United States, is beginning to doubt the soundness of the American role and where it is

leading Lebanon. Apropos of that, it has been frequently said that statements previously issued by French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, in which he said that Lebanon is on the threshold of a new civil war and is facing the danger of partition, implied that the United States has failed to solve the Lebanese crisis and must not be bet on alone, rather than to say that the existing Lebanese pathological factors are impeding the march towards restoring security and stability to a unified Lebanon. Apart from whether this French warning expresses France's concern about a country like Lebanon, which it helped create with its internationally-recognized borders, or whether this French position must be considered a reflection of the state of tension presently existing in American-French relations because of events in Chad, America's friends in the area generally prefer a thousand times to think that it is a matter of U.S. collusion to delay a solution in Lebanon, in anticipation of a ripe comprehensive solution in the area, rather than think that the United States is, in fact, unable to solve the Lebanese problem because such inability, if proven, will lead to serious coups in the area, starting with equations and concepts and ending with the status quo. Proven American inability to solve the problem in Lebanon means inability to deal with the crisis in the whole area as well, for he who can do little cannot do much, and he who cannot deal with a fraction cannot deal with a whole.

Political experts knowledgeable in the nature and elements of the Lebanese crisis believe that, while waiting for one of the two statements or theories, that is, collusion or inability, to be proven, there remains a link (some call it hellish) missing in the chain of the American role in the Lebanese arena.

In a quick review of the nature, the roles and stages the American movement in Lebanon has gone through, many pause at the stage when the United States pushed Lebanon to start quick negotiations with Israel under the slogan of evacuation and total withdrawal. These are the same negotiations that ended quickly as well, with an agreement sponsored and signed by Washington on the basis that things will proceed towards an agreement for implementation and not entanglement. However, the exact opposite happened. The Lebanese problem became increasingly and more intensely linked to the crisis in the area. Instead of the Lebanese solution becoming the entry to a solution for the crisis in the area, as the Americans claimed, the solution to the crisis in the region became the key to solving the Lebanese problem.

Some Lebanese leaders are amazed how quickly the United States sought to bind Lebanon to an agreement with Israel without any regard to the Syrian position which is intrinsically bound to the Middle Eastern and the Arab-Israeli conflicts and which rejects partial solutions at the expense of a comprehensive settlement to which the Soviet Union must be a principal party.

What adds to the amazement of some Lebanese leaders is that Washington, after using all its weight to bring about a quick end to the negotiations between Lebanon and Israel, has now turned against the agreement and is seeking to put it on ice so as to provide a better climate for a Syrian-American dialogue, or perhaps to justify its failure to deliver. Hence, this quick switch from a supposedly effective position seeking to realize a partial Israeli pullback from the mountains, has thrown Lebanon into the snare of partition, division or fragmentation.

Despite Lebanon's basic rejection of all forms of partial pullbacks, particularly from the mountain regions of the Shuf and 'Alyah, unless they are tied to stages and time tables in order to ward off the evil of division and the perils of partition, there is nothing to indicate (since the arrival of the new American presidential envoy Robert MacFarlane), that the United States has responded in practical terms to this Lebanese position or has sought to stop Israeli pullbacks. On the contrary, instead of bringing pressure to bear on Israel, it approved this partial withdrawal and urged the Lebanese to "swallow it," portraying it as a great accomplishment that will add a large piece of important real estate to the legitimate authority, according to a statement by President Reagan issued last week.

Time has proven that the Israeli motive behind partial withdrawal was not related to the alleged security of the Israeli army. It has become clear that Israel reached a final decision to withdraw from the mountains only after it had the strings of the game--which it created and nurtured both politically and militarily--firmly in hand, and after it was able to declare with conviction that it had become a key part and partner in the Lebanese equation.

This right that Israel claims for itself in Lebanon has given Israeli rulers the feeling of being in firm control of the entire Lebanese situation and has made them look beyond the 17 May agreement. The Israelis are moving on land politically and militarily on the premise that Lebanon, and President Jumayyil's government in particular, must choose between Israel and Syria, saying that Lebanon must drop the American option because the solution is not in Washington, but rather in Tel-Aviv.

These statements are no longer an attempt to examine Israel's intentions or explore what goes on in the Israeli mind, but rather they are issued by Israeli senior officials who speak out frankly before any Lebanese, or even non-Lebanese, they come across. In the wake of recent developments on the political and security levels brought about by the conflict in the mountain, Israel confirmed in no uncertain terms that the partial withdrawal, which the American envoy tried to portray as the key to a disengagement between Israeli and Syrian troops in Lebanon, was not so much a door to a phased partial solution, as the Americans said, as a gate to new Lebanese crises. It is difficult to discern whether such crises are an end in themselves or whether they are new cards to be used in pressuring President Jumayyil and his government.

A prominent Lebanese leader and official admits that the way Washington dealt with the issue of partial withdrawal did not show good intentions, neither on Washington's nor on Israel's part. The leader, who expressed his viewpoint to prominent American diplomats in the Lebanese capital, says that the problem of the mountain may be ultimately solved one way or another, if good will prevailed, and in light of such settlement, the problem of the army moving to the mountain will come to an end. But, after what?

The same leader goes on to say: "American indecision with regard to the problem of the mountain is causing serious complications that have rendered the subject a partial withdrawal a dangerous problem, endangering the destiny of Lebanon as a whole, broaching the question of Lebanon's unity, threatening the formula of co-existence, and bringing the Lebanese geographic and confessional make-up into dispute."

This picture, which does not inspire confidence, compelled President Amin al-Jumayyil to go to the people, as has been his custom, with a candid message that began as follows: "We are facing events and anticipating developments that could very well be the most dangerous we have yet faced. I felt that we should be open with each other, as I have promised, so I ask for your support in order to do my duty and to uphold what is right."

The president, addressing the Lebanese people, added: "We are living together through difficult and perilous times which, as you know, we have lost no time in facing and dealing with in order to spare all forces their tragedies."

In his TV address to the Lebanese people, President al-Jumayyil was very emotional and seemed to be overcome with bitterness over the situation. The Lebanese president has a right to be greatly disappointed in America's dawdling over a settlement of the Lebanese problem, particularly that it has become very difficult to reach the kind of solution the United States wants in Lebanon because everything that is taking place, in accordance with the American way of doing things, clearly suggests the existence of a design aimed at pushing conditions in Lebanon to the brink of collapse, thus forcing the Lebanese to seek salvation through a solution Washington is said to be preparing for Lebanon.

So, What is This Plan?

Is it the Proposal for a Federation in Lebanon?

Talk about this plan is wide-spread in some Lebanese political circles. Some senior politicians in the Lebanese capital have allowed themselves to talk about the details of this plan, and some key Lebanese sides have become amenable to this solution, and are actually promoting it in various ways.

Wide-spread talk about federalist solutions to the Lebanese problem reached its peak right after Arab and foreign guidance, in which the United States took part, called for the necessity to realize harmony and national reconciliation at this particular time.

The issue of harmony and national reconciliation, sacred as it is in Lebanese political life, is being falsely presented.

In the wake of the security and political escalation which caused more deterioration in the mountain and threatened greater Beirut, the state focused all its efforts in reaching a security agreement among the fighting factions in the mountain in order to avert a disaster and to make it easy for the army to fill the vacuum in the Shuf and 'Alayh. Within the framework of this endeavor, the council of ministers formed a 3-member ministerial committee to contact Lebanese leaders associated with the war in the mountain.

But, the famous detention operation, to which this committee was subjected in Mukhtarah at the hands of a Junblatt group, led to the creation of new given facts, including the fact that a search for a security conciliation agreement alone was no longer acceptable and that the matter required a greater conciliation agreement, that is, political reconciliation.

In the shadow of this new premise and of successive international, Arab and American calls for national reconciliation, the committee's mission moved in the direction of paving the way for this reconciliation.

Parliamentary Speaker Mr Kamil al-As'ad refused to receive the committee, regarding the presentation of the issue of reconciliation at this time as embroiling the government in a complicated problem that can lead to a serious predicament. Speaker al-As'ad was quick to steer himself clear of this card, justifying his viewpoint to the members of parliament and political leaders, not to mention the president, by saying: "Raising the question of reconciliation at this particular time is meant to show the Lebanese people as disunited and incapable of reaching a mutual understanding. This gives the Arab and outside world the impression that there is no more hope for the Lebanese to go back to an understanding and, consequently, division and partition are necessary."

Speaker al-As'ad watched the ministerial committee pursue all the leaders in order to get their viewpoints, only to return with differing preconditions. Some believed in the abrogation of the Israeli-Lebanese agreement as an opening for reconciliation talks, other believed the opposite, and a third party, who is neither for thier nor for that, demanded a re-examination of the system and the sectarian participation formula as put forth in the Druze memo.

In moments of redress and rectification, moderate political leaders agreed with the president of parliament [i.e., the speaker] that embroilment in the reconciliation issue at this point will lead to a serious predicament

that may provide a pretext for certain international powers to re-examine their positions towards the possibility of reunifying Lebanon as a land and as a people. Hence, they agreed with speaker al-As'ad that the problem of the mountain, and Lebanon in general, is greater and more dangerous than [merely] being solved by hasty discussions or by study of reconciliation. Rather, it is problem between Syria and Israel, and a consequence of the conflict between the Americans and the Soviets. In some ways, it is an Israeli problem with the Americans in Lebanon and an Israeli problem in Lebanon. These great problems can not be solved or erased by an agreement between Lebanese groups who are basically a party to the power play taking place on Lebanese territory between the great powers and the regional powers.

Moreover, American's friends in the region and in Lebanon who do not admit to its inability to solve and settle [things], also believe that the other side of the problem that is barring a comprehensive solution pertains to the fate of armed Palestinian forces in the al-Biqa' and the north.

This problem is starting to come under scrutiny, and questions are being raised within this framework about where the armed Palestinians will withdraw to and which Arab country they can go to should the Israelis and Syrians withdraw from Lebanon.

So far, there is not one Arab country ready to receive them. Perhaps Arab pressure on the United States is playing its role by incuding Washington to go along with the Arabs, putting on ice the decision on total withdrawal until such time as an agreement is reached on what are the Palestinians, who are unwelcome even if they are completely disarmed in Lebanon by some powerful Lebanese factions, can withdraw to.

Therefore, where and how? Should one wait for a solution to the West Bank problem or maintain the state of partition in Lebanon because it is, in the opinion of some, a solution to the problems of the Palestinians who are there? Or, should this actual situation be put in the framework of a legal and political solution to the Lebanese problem through a federalist formula that would render their presence in Muslim areas, such as the north and the al-Biqa', possible and acceptable and not objectionable to the Christians so long as their areas are free of this Palestinian presence?

12502  
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LEBANON

JUNBLATT'S RECENT ACTIONS, MOTIVATIONS EXAMINED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 346, 8 Oct 83 pp 14-15

Article by Salim Nassar: "Junblatt's Decision: An important Card for Political Settlement? Junblatt Searches in Neutral Countries for Alternative to the Multinational Force to Separate the Shuf and 'Alayh from the Rest of Lebanon."

Text The Range Rover was eating up ground at a speed of 130 kilometers per hour and its six passengers were silent. The driver, on his way from Damascus to the Shuf just after the announcement of the cease-fire, increased speed when he passed the "factory."

Suddenly Walid Junblatt broke the silence when he turned his head back so that the British journalist, who was sitting in the back seat between two heavily armed companions, could hear him speak. He said, "How often I think of this nation...Lebanon. Sometimes it appears to me to be something artificial."

Sharif Fayyad, the military commander of the Druze forces who was sitting in the front seat next to the driver, did not comment. The British journalist, Charles Glass, a correspondent for the magazine THE SPECTATOR, responded with a delicate question: "Perhaps this nation must be divided between Syria and Israel if the political situation collapses and it is demonstrated that Lebanon is an artificial entity unable to grow and live. In such a case, which part would you choose to live in?"

After long thought, Junblatt answered, "No man's land, that is, land which favors no one and which is described with the word 'sacred.'"

This precipitate decision was the prelude to the announcement of the independence of the civil administration of the Shuf and 'Alayh regions. The announcement was broadcast after 6 days full of surprises and developments, beginning with objection to the place and time fixed for the national dialog and ending with Chamber of Deputies Speaker Kamal al-As'ad's decision concerning the role of the chamber and its constitutional responsibility to take fateful decisions on matters of such a serious magnitude. Perhaps, in an attempt to find a satisfactory solution, it occurred to Walid Junblatt that the military force that he commanded in the Mount Lebanon battles neither closed the gap between him and the legitimate government, nor produced the

desired political solution worth the sacrifice and bloodshed. A month after the violent fighting that involved the superpowers and nearly brought the United States and the Soviet Union to the point of collision, he realized that military force sometimes appeared incapable of achieving political gains, especially if the military force is entangled in regional issues, the fate of the regime, and the shrinking influence of concerned states, particularly Israel.

Although we may consider the timing to be wrong, what the head of the Progressive Socialist Party decided at this time is not unusual, because the Lebanese Forces have practiced such a civil administration throughout the war and have imposed their authority and levied taxes in the regions that they felt fell within their influence. There is one difference. It is that the leadership of the Lebanese Forces did not announce these steps in a clearly defined way. Instead, they took these steps while under the legitimate government, or with the appearance of respect for the legitimate government. The cabinet felt that the step taken by Junblatt was the prelude to the establishment of a separate entity within the Lebanese nation, especially since it carried the seeds of revolution against the regime and demanded that the army not be disciplined and not defend constitutional institutions. However, the supporters of this step saw it as a modified version of what Walid's father did in the 1958 revolution, when he set up special courts and special forces to fight his political adversaries because the army of Gen Fu'ad Shihab, at that time, remained neutral. Some rebellious elements deserted the army then and announced that they were joining the forces of Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam in al-Musaytibah.

The supporters of Walid Junblatt say that this move differs from other political moves and very closely resembles the move of Goukuni Ouedi who led battles in Chad against the regime represented by Hissein Habre. President Mitterrand is now uncertain about cooperating with the Habre regime and is evaluating the legitimacy of the role it is playing, after having supported him with French fighting forces. The Druze leader would like to portray his relationship with the regime as similar to that of Ouedi's. He believes that the Lebanese regime is the monopoly of one faction and that the state's most important posts have been granted to one party. Junblatt represents all of these [other] elements, whether from the Druze sect, the Progressive Socialist Party, or those who [wish to] spread their influence over a certain region, and all of these factors give him an important card in the political solution in Lebanon. President Reagan gave this card an international dimension when he told President al-Jumayyil in Washington of the necessity of opening a dialog with the opposition, represented by Junblatt, either through the National Movement or through the Salvation Front.

In the opinion of some government officials in Lebanon, Walid Junblatt has translated President Reagan's wishes into the language of Lebanese politics, whereas in reality his wishes were to support national reconciliation which would have an impact on his domestic position vis-a-vis the presidential elections. The 7-year war has destroyed a number of politicians who have fallen into the fatal quagmire, such as Alexander Haig, Sharon, Phillip Habib and Menachem Begin, and Reagan is constantly aware of this fact. He has

tested an agreement with Junblatt based on a realization of this ~~Possible~~ fate. Nothing is more indicative of his ignorance of the domestic details of Lebanon than the incident that took place between him and Dr Elie Salim. The foreign minister was trying earnestly, in his logical way, to explain to the American president the complexities of the Lebanese issue. He began to recite the names of organizations, personalities and the various sides of the conflict. After continuing a long time in what appeared as a diplomatic lecture, the Lebanese minister paused to hear a comment of the man in the White House. Reagan drew his mouth into a theatrical smile and said, "You know, your face reminds me of an actor of Lebanese origin, Danny Thomas."

This incident explains to a large degree the extent to which the American presidency understands the complexities of the Lebanese crisis. ~~Those in the administration~~ view it in terms of the general strategic situation, that is, in terms of Syria and Israel, or the international balance in the region, or a final solution to the Middle East crisis, or Soviet meddling.

Therefore, the proper image has been lost of all those who are working to employ American capabilities to their advantage in the Lebanese domestic battle. Junblatt was surprised when he received a letter from Washington via mediator McFarlane that included a semi-warning that the multinational forces would move to Bhamdun and Suq al-Gharb to fight his forces there. ~~He felt that~~ the stakes were suddenly changing, knowing that Damascus had informed him that it would continue to supply him with materiel, weapons and political support right until the end.

Facing these new developments, Junblatt decided to agree to a cease-fire because he was convinced that a greater American involvement would put the ball in another court where he would not have the power of decision. He estimated that escalation would increase the number of Palestinians participating in the fighting and that this might lead to Israeli air strikes as suggested by Israeli Foreign Minister Arens. At that point, the game would be out of his hands.

Observers examining the results of the military battles see that U.S. policy did not compromise its previous commitment to protect the Lebanese regime and the legitimacy of President al-Jumayyil. On the other hand, the U.S. is pressuring al-Jumayyil to agree to share power with his political adversaries, such as Sulayman Franjiyah, Rashid Karami, Walid Junblatt and Nabih Barri.

Camille Sham'un and Pierre al-Jumayyil saw in this call a kind of excommunication or lessening of the Maronite role in the Lebanese regime. They therefore opposed the idea of a national dialog before the withdrawal of all foreign forces. This crippling measure would be hard to achieve in light of existing political complications.

The fact is that the idea of the announcement of a national government or a revolution in regions where the Lebanese state is not present has been expected since the announcement of the establishment of the National Salvation Front. Walid Junblatt raised this in the context of a military solution by

declaring war against the legitimacy of President al-Jumayyil from the city of Ba'labakk. It is said that [Former] President Franjiyah opposed this decision in fear that the country would be partitioned.

However, the battle of Suq al-Charb settled matters differently, since Walid Junblatt gained more independence from the north and Ba'labakk, and more freedom to take political decisions which he wants to take, at least, for his own region. He is now trying to keep the Druze from losing the political gains that his father caused them to lose by announcing in 1976 that his authority encompassed 90 percent of Lebanese territory. In his final attempt he wants to assert that the Druze, like the Maronites, have a right to boast that they are among the founders and faithful guardians of the Lebanese state who do not look abroad with their loyalties as do the Sunnis and Shiites. His region remained outside the war throughout the 7 years, but now he has thrust it into the armed conflict because of his belief that the Lebanese Front wants to create a Christian Lebanon controlled by the Maronite sect. He has decided to bring down by force all of the local and international balances that may have fulfilled his hopes.

President al-Jumayyil has denied that this is his plan. He believes that the opposition is not seeing what he wants, but is building its differences on what it believes serves the interests of the Lebanese Front. This is the source of the conflict.

It is clear from Reagan's game that he wants to thrust the multinational force and the international peace-keeping force into the international game, believing that reaching a Lebanese settlement might lead, in the end, to a settlement of the Middle East crisis. Because he does not want to give a negative impression by moving his forces into Mount Lebanon, he has suggested that UN forces move into the Shuf to monitor the cease-fire. Syria refused this step saying that it would consecrate the partition of the unified Lebanese regions. The state replied that the peace-keeping forces that Damascus accepted in the Golan did not prevent Syria from demanding this occupied section. Officials in Syria said that these forces are located between two states and not between the regions of one state.

The fact is that resistance came originally from Moscow, which informed Walid Junblatt that if he used its veto to overturn the recommendations in the Security Council, Moscow was afraid that this would set a precedent that might embarrass it in Afghanistan. Junblatt saw in the Third World a legal way to shield his region by using forces from Romania, Yugoslavia, India and various states he considers to be neutral. He visited Greece because Prime Minister Papandreu, in his opinion, today leads what is called the justice movement in the Western World. Just as Yasir 'Arafat visited Papandreu in the past to thank him for his position, so Walid Junblatt visited him to thank him for his political position, because he prevented the shipment of western arms and materiel to the state of Lebanon.

And so it appears that new political battle lines are beginning to be drawn outside the Western World as another attempt at different formulas. In their true meaning, these battle lines represent nothing more than a continuation

of division, violence and the absence of state authority. Whenever these foreign initiatives are presented, it becomes more and more clear that true salvation rests in the hands of the Lebanese themselves and in the conviction that reaching a final settlement means respecting the ambitions of all parties to the conflict.

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SCOPE OF ISRAELI REDEPLOYMENT OUTLINED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 344, 24 Sep 83 pp 39-43

/Text/ With the "redeployment of the Israeli Army," as it was called by Tel Aviv, or, more correctly, with the surprise partial withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Mount Lebanon region (al-Shuf and 'Alayh) to just beyond al-Awwali line, Israel has evacuated 600 square kilometers of Lebanese territory whose residents include about 100,000 Druze; 120,000 Christians of three sects: Maronite, Catholic and Orthodox; and 62,000 Sunni Muslims. Israel still controls 2,800 square kilometers with a new line of defense stretching 113 kilometers. /The old line/ was 118 kilometers. The line stretches along the coast from al-Naqurah to al-Awwali River and through the mountains from al-Awwali to the heights of al-Baruk. Ten thousand Israeli soldiers withdrew from the Mount Lebanon area, one-quarter of the total number of Israeli troops stationed in Lebanon, and at least half that number returned to Israel. Also, 150 kilometers of strategic roads were paved to ensure control over al-Awwali River line. Preparations and construction of the new Israeli defense line required 48,000 workdays by the corps of engineers. This huge military fence cost 40 million dollars to build and is nearly 50 kilometers long. It is electrified on one side and well fortified on the other. It is known as the "Levi" line, although reports have said that it is the "Arens" line after the current Israeli minister of defense and not Levi, the chief of staff. The new Israeli defense line stretches from north of Sidon south to the mouth of al-Awwali River, northeast to the high Mount al-Baruk, and then on to Wadi Marj Bisri and the Jazzin region. The Israeli forces' position in the hills of Mount al-Baruk, at an altitude of 1,980 meters, will allow them, in the words of Defense Minister Arens, to look down on the Beirut-Damascus international highway and monitor the line extending to the southeast to the town of Yanta near the Syrian border in the Biqa' valley. This new line, as viewed by military experts, is the great military barricade at which and behind which the Israeli forces have decided to fortify themselves since it forms a strong line of defense and attack. They have built it with towers, small fortresses, small mobile radar units and observation posts to enable them to see the movements of fighters of the "Lebanese National Resistance" should they continue their operations against the Israeli forces.

After the partial Israeli withdrawal, AL-MUSTAQBAL took a field tour of the villages of Sidon and Jazzin and al-Kharrub region in al-Shuf, inspected the new line of defense, went to places where the Israelis have set up their positions, their fortifications and their military airstrips, and found out from the people the truth of the situation in the region.

One of the citizens of the city of Sidon told us, "The rumble of the engines of the huge Israeli bulldozers and shovels that were used to prepare the ground where the new Israeli defense line was built kept the people of the city and neighboring villages from sleeping for nearly 3 months."

Another citizen of the city said, "The Israelis are making this line identical to the Bar Lev line in terms of its military impregnability, its hugeness and the fortifications that have been built along it. We are afraid that this fortification will turn into a kind of border that may require permission papers from the Israeli military governor to cross. If this happens it will mean the partition of Lebanon into two parts with Israel controlling both through gates. The most important gate would be at the northern entrance to Sidon where Israel has already begun experimenting with traffic. This has obstructed traffic and at times delayed civilians on the roads for as much as 10 hours."

Indeed, anyone coming to the capital of the south, Sidon, would notice on al-Awwali River bridge that the Israeli forces have narrowed the area for crossing into the city and the south on the bridge and have built a barbed wire roadblock permitting only one car at a time to pass, making it easier to monitor it. From al-Najmah Square in Sidon, one moves upward toward Mar Ilyas hill in the east overlooking the city. Here the Israeli forces have built a new road parallel to the old one that leads to the hill from the direction of the town of 'Ayn al-Dalab. Israeli shovels have worked to level the hill, especially near the reservoir. The road is 15 meters wide and extends east to the Jazzin heights. The Israeli forces covered the road with a kind of gravel that is very noisy when driven upon so that they can detect any infiltration operations. On Shurhabayl hill, which faces Mar Ilyas hill and also overlooks the city of Sidon, the Israelis have set up prefabricated dwellings, strengthened them with sandbags, leveled the hill and built a military airstrip for propeller driven airplanes. They have built a road from there eastward to the town of Karkha where they have built another airstrip for patrols. This airstrip is strengthened with observation posts and fortifications which give a view of the 'Alms-Jun road in the al-Kharrub region of the Shuf. Some citizens of the town of Karkha have reported that the Israeli Army built the Karkha airstrip road through the village of Murah al-'Abbas and took the Lebanese Forces' facility there as their own facility after a week of tensions between them nearly 2 months ago. This facility will probably become the headquarters for the Israeli regional command.

The people of the region have said that the Israelis have focused their activities there on a high hill that overlooks the Awwali River in Mahallat Bisri, which links the Jazzin and upper Shuf regions with a small bridge that is flooded over in the winter. Next to the bridge is an electrical power station. On a hill overlooking the Bisri woodlands, the Israelis have leveled the ground and built another airstrip. It is worth noting that the Bisri region is the only crossing point between Tyre and the south except for the coast road and the unsafe mountain road between Jazzin and Niha. It is well-known that the Israelis are proceeding to build a road linking the Bisri region, Jabal al-Shaykh and the Biqa', and are contracting the construction of the road to Israeli and foreign contractors. We noticed that the fortifications put up by the Israelis around the Bisri bridge and surrounding area differ from those in other areas. They

built high positions and were quick to set up early warning equipment, electronic equipment and electrified fences to prevent infiltration. They built observation stations equipped with searchlights along the Bisri River and bulldozed Mount Bisri, taking away stones and dirt which they used to build an airstrip for propeller driven planes.

Traveling up toward the Jazin region town of al-Hubaybiyah, [one sees] where the Israelis have opened up a dirt road in the hills there that extends from the town to the hills and elevations overlooking al-Awwali River and continues to the villages of Karkha, Kafr Falus, Qaytwali and al-Matallah. The Israelis occupied a house at the summit of the town of Qasta, demanded that the owner never return, and took away a beehive that was at the house. According to residents of the village, Israeli earthmovers leveled the land around the house and the Israelis built fortifications and put up sandbags around it. In the town of al-Baramiyah overlooking the Charles Hilu Electrical Power Plant, the people said with fear and concern, "We were fine, living here safely, until the Israelis came. But since then, we have been afraid."

"They harvested our crops without consulting with the owners. They kept us from entering our land after it was plowed and harrowed and they built their military compounds on it."

At the west entrance to the town of al-Hilaliyah the Israeli forces occupied a villa belonging to a resident of the village. We saw a number of senior Israeli officers there, including the commander of the Israeli forces in the region, Colonel Amir Drori who had taken the building as his command headquarters, according to the people of the town, because of its geographical position. It sits on a very high hill overlooking the entire length of al-Awwali River.

We complete our trip by finally reaching a large military compound on the hills of the village of 'Ayn Bu Siwar which overlooks the entire Jazin sector and most of the villages of the upper Shuf to al-Mukhtarah and 'Ayn Zahalta. Observation posts, connected by trenches, are concentrated on this hill. On a plain near this position the Israelis have built an airstrip for propeller driven planes. The people of the region told us that the Israeli in charge of the position, whose name is Captain Mark Mendelson, informed them that travel from the north to the south of al-Awwali River would be open to everyone and that the Israeli Army would not impose passage permits. They also told us that another official in the area attributed the partial withdrawal from the Mount Lebanon region to security requirements, saying that the Israelis were unable to stay in that rugged mountain region any longer and that the stay there for almost a year cost them dozens of dead and hundreds of wounded.

Along the sides of the 50 kilometers of military roads built by the Israeli forces, Hebrew signs have been put up to guide the drivers of Israeli equipment, armor and military vehicles to the new positions on the "Arens-Levi line." This line encloses the area of the south that has fallen under Israeli military control. Living in this area are about 520,000 people, including 270,000 Shiites, 65,000 Christians, 60,000 Sunnis, 30,000 Druze and 95,000 Palestinians. This is the new Israeli military position or, what Israel has called, "the redeployment of forces in Lebanon."

Former Prime Minister Dr Dalim al-Huss, who is well-known for his extensive knowledge and experience in politics and economics, explained to AL-MUSTAQBAL the dimensions of the plans behind the partial Israeli withdrawal from Mount Lebanon and the goal behind the construction of this Israeli defense line. Dr al-Huss believes that "when Israel withdrew its forces to al-Awwali River line, it confirmed the fears of the Lebanese on two scores. First, Israel evacuated a large area of Mount Lebanon after crises erupted there and before the government was prepared to take it over based on a political agreement. Second, Israel sought to firmly establish its presence in the south, which strengthened Lebanese fears of the Israeli ambition to take control of it. The al-Awwali line is the line drawn by Israel itself in the agreement it signed with Lebanon defining the region Israel describes as the 'security zone.' This is the area that Israel has always been suspected of wanting to take over and keep to fulfill ambitions for the waters of the Litani River and to achieve geographical expansion which, in the minds of Israeli officials, might serve old economic and strategic goals. What strengthens these fears," says Prime Minister al-Huss, "are the disruptive practices carried out by Israel in the south in terms of imposing a normalization of economic relations between south Lebanon and Israel. It is noteworthy that Israel has done a great deal toward /achieving/ this normalization with the south in order to tie the economy of the south to the Israeli economy. Israel has flooded the southern market with Israeli products, closed many agricultural production facilities in the south, strengthened the tie between the economy of the south and the Israeli economy, and deepened the dependence of the former on the latter. Israel has opened the south to imports from abroad via Israeli ports and tried to penetrate the entire Lebanese marketplace viat the marketplace of the south. It is feared now that Israel, after the retreat of the Israeli forces to al-Awwali line, intends to intensify measures through which it controls the movement of people and products between the south and the rest of Lebanon. Israel is tightening its grip on the south and intensifying its methods of trying to impose alienation between the south and the rest of Lebanon. The al-Awwali line," according to Prime Minister al-Huss, "means a great deal to the Lebanese. In short, it means the temporary limits of Israeli regional ambitions in Lebanon; temporary because Israeli strategic ambitions do not stop at this point. Lebanon, in the Israeli view, is one of many successive steps the Israelis desire to implement in the Middle East region. There is much evidence indicating that the Israeli goal, first and foremost, is to break Lebanon apart as a prelude to breaking apart the rest of the countries of the Middle East."

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WADI JIZAN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 5 Oct 83 p 11

[Excerpt] Project Goals

--To build the Wadi Jizan dam (a privately-owned dam) to block the water of five wadis, the most important being Wadi Jizan, and thus organize irrigation operations for the appropriate agricultural times and prevent the dangers from floods that engulf the area and destroy fields and villages and are not utilized except to irrigate an area no greater than 1,000 to 2,000 hectares.

--To build a network of canals along the major roads to organize irrigation operations and lessen erosion. Work on this began in 1974 and has been completed in three regions. The Minister [of Agriculture] took over the projects in these areas at the end of 1980.

--To build a central facility for agricultural research to experiment with various strains of fruits, vegetables, field crops, oil crops and fodder that are appropriate for the region, profitable for the farmer, and meet some of the country's needs. The goal here is also to find effective means to prevent plant epidemics and diseases and to train farmers and their sons.

The agreement signed between the organization (World Food Council) and the Kingdom includes the following goals:

--Increase per capita income of the farmers.

--Improve living conditions in the countryside.

--Lessen the Kingdom's dependence on imported food.

--Transfer the surplus of labor in the agricultural sector to other sectors by expanding the use of agricultural machinery and increasing the qualifications of the Saudi farmer.

In order to achieve these goals, the second phase of the aforementioned agreement emphasized the necessity of the following:

--Devising a plan of action for developing Wadi Jizan that relies on the development of one village after another, taking into consideration the human and natural resources available in each village and the needs of the farmers. The plan of action aims to achieve agricultural integration.

--Introducing agricultural rotation, the expanded use of agricultural machinery and equipment, production based on scientific and economic principles, and the organization of efforts and farmers' affairs in light of the results that the project will achieve.

--Developing a research station within the project until it becomes qualified to conduct research in the various agricultural fields throughout the Tihama region and provide farmers with various agricultural services such as the provision of improved seeds and seedlings and instructional publications.

--Developing instructional activities throughout Wadi Jizan.

#### The Future of the Project

In what follows, we will try to shed light on the future of the project by showing the changes made in its goals, those goals drawn up entirely by the Ministry of Agriculture, and what appears in the third five-year plan.

##### A. Changes in the Project's Goals

By reviewing the amendments concerning the project in the agreement signed by the Ministry of Agriculture and the World Food Council, the following becomes clear:

--An affirmation of the necessity to focus efforts on agricultural development rather than on research. This is a realistic and important move. When the project was started, the need was for focusing efforts on field research and experimentation to determine the chances of success for agriculture. There was also the need for acclimating the various strains of agricultural crops that were imported to the region, and for improving, as much as possible, local strains. But now, since the project has achieved confirmed results, the time has come to make the results of the studies and research conducted by the research station available to the farmers so they can benefit from them and improve their agricultural situation. This can only be accomplished by focusing on service to the farmers in the region and providing the results of the research to them. This requires the following:

--That the workers in the project focus their efforts on searching for the best means of getting the project's services to the farmers, strengthening the link with them and training them and their sons in modern agricultural methods.

--That the project determine the real problems impeding development in the region and focus its efforts on ways to practically confront them in accordance with the means available to do it.

- That the project work toward strengthening its link with educational, social and health organizations in the region.
- That the participation of the ministry change from a monitoring role to a financing role with the aim of encouraging the largest possible number of Saudi engineers and scientists to work in the project.

In addition, there were a number of recommendations in the latest project evaluation of 15 November 1980. We mention the following:

- 1--The appointment of 11 international experts and 14 Saudi agricultural engineers, bringing the total to 20 international experts and 20 Saudi engineers.
- 2--The provision of comfortable and modern housing and work facilities to the Saudi scientists and experts.
- 3--The conversion of temporary structures to permanent, modern ones.
- 4--The establishment of a training and education center.
- 5--The establishment of laboratories to conduct applied research in the various agricultural fields. The laboratories are to be capable of servicing the entire southern Tihamah region.
- 6--The leveling of cultivable land and provision of dam water to farmers at a rate of two to three waterings per year of a 15 to 30 centimeter depth rather than one watering per year of 40 centimeters.
- 7--The combination of the three projects--the Wadi Jizan dam, the irrigation network and the research station--into one project inasmuch as the three supplement each other.
- 8--The expansion of the current irrigation network and the completion of regions 4, 5 and 7.

## B. The Agricultural Development Project

The agricultural development project of the third five-year plan for the years 1400-1405 A.H. [1980-1985] has the following goals:

- Operation and maintenance of the dam and irrigation project in the three regions where the project has been completed.
- Completion of the irrigation project in the three remaining regions of the wadi.
- Leveling of cultivable land to facilitate the distribution of water and to increase the usefulness of the land.

The execution stages [for the project] during the third five-year plan are as follows:

For the first year, 1400-1401 A.H.: 1) Operation and maintenance of the dam and the irrigation project in the first three regions, and 2) Preparation of final plans for the three remaining regions.

For the second year, 1401-1402 A.H.: 1) Operation and maintenance of the dam and the irrigation project in the first regions, and 2) Award of contracts for execution of the irrigation project in the three remaining regions.

For the third year, 1402-1403 A.H.: 1) Continuation of operation and maintenance of the dam and irrigation project, and 2) Completion of the irrigation project in the remaining three regions.

For the fourth year, 1403-1404 A.H.: 1) Continuation of operation and maintenance, and 2) Completion of implementation.

For the fifth year, 1404-1405 A.H.: 1) Continuation of operation and maintenance, and 2) Handing over of the irrigation project in the three regions and beginning of operations.

#### The Most Important Accomplishments of the Project

The project has conducted a number of experiments in various agricultural fields, [including experiments] in field, oil and fodder crops, vegetables, fruits, water relationships, and animal resources. The experiments have derived information that is practical and necessary for the development of Wadi Jizan and its neighboring wadis. A detailed explanation of the experiments conducted is not possible here, but we will try to give a summary of the most important accomplishments.

1--Fruits. Experiments were conducted to grow papaya, bananas and limes. The results were encouraging and some research is continuing to determine the extent of success in growing figs and certain types of citrus fruits such as tangerines and oranges.

2--Vegetables. A variety of vegetable crops were tested. Through planting vegetables in the colder regions, it was demonstrated that success could be achieved in Jizan if the current planting time and appropriate strain are chosen. The most important vegetables that tested successfully were carrots, turnips, radishes, parsley, cabbage, onions, lettuce, beets, broccoli, cauliflower, tomatoes, peppers, eggplant, mulukhiyah, watercress, okra, melons, cantalope, cucumbers, zucchini, and certain legumes such as peas and beans.

3--Field crops. The station tested various strains of Pakistani, Egyptian, Sudanese and Ugandan millet. The experiments showed that they were 3-4 times better than local varieties in terms of production. Also, they can be harvested by machine whereas local varieties cannot, and labor was one

of the problems plaguing the region. Therefore, the project is working to encourage farmers to plant imported varieties and use harvesting equipment. Also successful were experiments conducted with corn imported from Kenya and Tanzania, peanuts, various kinds of beans, cotton, sesame and sunflowers.

4--Fodder. Various types of fodder were planted on rocky ground and flood ground such as (klitur?), (falsabar?), mung and other bean varieties. The results were good.

5--Animal resources. There are estimated to be about 170,000 head of sheep, about 35,000 head of goat, 20,000 head of cattle and about 5,000 camels. The project has attempted to confront some of the problems facing animal husbandry in the region, including the quality and quantity of feed, diseases that strike animals and methods of combatting them, the introduction of clover in place of millet that is high in starch and low in protein, and work toward common use of crop rotation to refertilize the soil and prevent crop diseases and maladies. All this is meant to diversify the sources of income for the farmers in the region.

6--The project is testing various irrigation methods in its experimental fields. Such methods include drip irrigation, sprinkling systems, pipes with gates, siphon irrigation, and gun irrigation (throwing the water long distances). The purpose is to find the best method for the Jizan region keeping in mind the temperature, the humidity, the nature of the soil, the receptivity of each crop, the cost of each method and its benefits and limitations. The project chose ten farms in the region to establish a drip irrigation system and preliminary agreement has been reached to import the necessary [equipment] at the expense of the project.

7--Guidance and training. The project has trained 39 farmers' sons in planting various crops, methods of protecting the crops, and the use of agricultural machinery and equipment. They have also been trained in the fields of animal production and water relationships. Fifteen trainees have been appointed to different departments of the project. Thirty other trainees have been accepted to a one-year training course. Fifteen drivers and mechanics have been trained for the project and a number of others have been trained to fulfill the needs of the project. Eight safety workers from the Jizan agricultural directorate have been trained. The project cooperates with the Kingdom's universities to train final year students during the summer vacation.

8--Services. The project has provided various agricultural services to farmers since its inception. By way of example, we mention here the most important services the project has offered to farmers in the region this season.

--Seeds. Over 2,000 bags of various seeds have been distributed to farmers and agricultural organization. In addition, 20 cans of improved seeds for melons, tomatoes, eggplant, zucchini, peppers and okra have been distributed to 20 farmers.

--Seedlings. A large number of tomato, eggplant, pepper, poppy, flower, (dudina), (bunsiyana) and (nim) seedlings have been sold to more than 60 farmers and agricultural organizations in the region at a value of about 23,690 riyals.

--Nurseries. Five protective awnings have been distributed to farmers active in the region to encourage them to build vegetable nurseries and windbreaks. Ten other awnings have been set up for one of the farmers with the goal of establishing a commercial nursery. The farmer provided the raw materials.

--Agricultural machinery and equipment services. More than 30 plows have been repaired at the project workshop or at the farm by using a mobile workshop. Twenty crop protection sprayers have been repaired this season and sprayers have been loaned eight times this season. The (kumatsu?) has been loaned seven times this season and plows have been loaned 40 times this season. The threshing machine has been loaned 19 times this season and the furrower have been loaned once during the season.

#### Instructional Farms

The project has established 27 instructional farms on irrigated and flooded land. Because dam water does not reach some of these farms and because two farmers have refused to cooperate with the project, nine of the farms have been closed. The instructional farms for this season are as follows:

--Four instructional farms on irrigated land, each planted with four types of greens and corn.

--Two farms on irrigated land planted with four types of greens in addition to improved millet and corn.

--Twelve instructional farms on flooded land ranging in area from 6 to 20 dunums, all planted with fine millet with high grains suitable for machine harvesting.

The idea behind establishing instructional fields is summarized in the project's following activities:

1--Flooded land. The project is servicing this land to the full extent by preparing the land, sterilizing it against (al-nahl al-abyd), fertilizing it, cultivating it, planting it, protecting it from plant diseases, and harvesting it mechanically.

2--Irrigated land. The project is preparing the land, planting it, fertilizing it, and protecting it with the cooperation of the farmers. By establishing instructional farms, the project aims to convince farmers of the importance of using agricultural machinery and modern agricultural methods to prepare the land, the importance of sterilizing the land, choosing good varieties of plants, controlling irrigation and fertilization, following crop and pasture protection, pruning and supporting [the plants].

Counseling Services.

1--We have taken samples from more than 40 farms to determine the qualities of the water and soil in the region so that we can recommend the proper types of fertilizer and crops.

2--General, preliminary recommendations have been given for the use of fertilizer in the region.

3--Three bulletins have been prepared on insecticides, millet and corn.

4--More than 45 farmers in the region have been visited for guidance in modern agricultural methods, or to help them set up small nurseries, help them level their ground or protect it from plant diseases, or provide them with the necessary instructions for setting up new agricultural projects on a scientific basis.

5--A complete financial study was prepared for an integrated plant and animal project for the 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Sahhaqi farms. The study has been submitted to the ministry office.

6--Sixteen farms have been visited 1-4 times to gather information on their situation and to help the farmers keep records of costs, production, expenses and returns. This will make it easier for us to convince them, with numbers and information from the farmers, of the usefulness of fertilizers, insecticides, good strains, the economical use of machinery, and the effect of all this on crop yields.

A Final Word

It will not be easy to achieve everything mentioned under the heading "The Future of the Project." It will require much effort and devotion from all those working in the project in addition to time. However, praise be to God, the project has achieved a large portion of the latter recommendations, such as:

--Converting the monitoring role [of the ministry] to a financing role and encouraging qualified Saudis to work in the project.

--Operating a program to determine the problems of farmers and record information gathered by project technicians.

--Beginning work to establish a soil laboratory.

--Beginning work in an intensive instructional program prepared by experts and their counterparts, going to the farmers in the villages and meeting with them with the goal of developing the villages.

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**FRONT OPPOSED TO SYRIAN REGIME RESUMES MEETINGS**

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 299, 15 Aug 83 pp 22-23

[Article: "Statement by the Constituent Body of the National Alliance for the Liberation of Syria, made on 1 August 1983."]

[Text] The Zionist-Lebanese agreement is the result of Asad's policy.

Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] has been expelled from Syria ever since the conference in Fes.

Asad's role in supporting Iran reflects the fact that his regime is one which is based on betraying the Arab world.

The forces of the Syrian opposition, represented by the National Alliance for the Liberation of Syria, concluded their fourth regular session last month. This session was attended by all of the political parties, organizations, and individuals embraced by the Alliance. They all listened to the reports given by the Secretariat General and then discussed them. After that they reviewed the agenda which was presented, and they made the necessary decisions regarding it. After that they reviewed Syria's situation in light of circumstances in the Arab world and in the world as a whole. In conclusion, they issued the following communique which AL-DUSTUR obtained a copy of and which it is publishing in its entirety--due to the importance which it has in the role of bringing to light the attitude of the Syrian people as experienced by the Syrians on the various fronts of battle. The statement was as follows:

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

Political Declaration Issued by the Constituent Body of the National Alliance for the Liberation of Syria at Its Fourth Regular Session During the Month of July 1983

**The Situation in Syria**

The situation in Syria is both an old and a new situation. The characteristics which determine the image of the Syrian regime and which betray its

nature have been revealed by the Alliance in previous communiqus which it has issued as a result of monitoring the course of action taken by Hafiz al-Asad from the time the Golan Heights were handed over to the enemy in 1967 till the time of the Zionist invasion and occupation of Lebanon in 1982. This time period includes all of the catastrophes and types of repression which Hafiz al-Asad has dealt out to the Syrian and Lebanese peoples as well as to the Palestinian Revolution.

When we talk about the situation in Syria, we are also necessarily talking about the situation in Lebanon and the situation with regard to the Palestinian Revolution. Lebanon and [the areas occupied by the forces of] the Palestinian Revolution are one and the same area of occupation as far as the occupier, Hafiz al-Asad, is concerned.

The nature of the regime in Syria gives its government program and its policy a certain stability, but this stability does not mislead observers when it comes to discerning its positions of the future and its probable actions. This program is a reflection of all of the relations which exist between the ruler and his citizens on the domestic front and between him and international forces abroad. It also reflects the fact that treachery is a distinct feature of the Syrian regime and that the purpose of this treachery is to destroy Syria as a nation of people, eliminate any force in the Arab world which could be effective against the enemy, and to inflict defeat on the people of the Arab world. Hafiz al-Asad's policies, whether they are actively-initiated policies or reactions to the policies of others, are governed by this purpose and oriented in this direction.

The relationship between Hafiz al-Asad and his people is the relationship of a people to a person who has betrayed them and is still betraying them. Any traitor of this sort must put into practice every day new forms of maltreatment, tyranny, and conspiracy. He is in a state of constant war with the nation which he has betrayed, and he must fight this nation of people on every front which he is able to reach in order to kill them. In light of this, his role in Lebanon and his role of opposition to the Palestinian Revolution becomes one which is understandable, and his stance in favor of Iran in its war against Iraq also becomes something which is understandable.

The new events which took place between the third and fourth sessions held by the Constituent Body were the following: 1) the ratification of the agreement between our fellow-Arab nation of Lebanon and the Zionist enemy; 2) the schism which has occurred within the ranks of Fatah; and 3) the expulsion of Abu 'Ammar from Syria by order of Hafiz al-Asad.

These three events, in spite of the fact that they have recently occurred, fit right into the context and framework of events which have occurred as a result of Hafiz al-Asad's policy and program. They represent the putting into practice of his political ideas which are opposed to our Arab nation.

The Lebanese-Zionist agreement is one of the results of the policy of Hafiz al-Asad, who has made it possible for Israel to occupy Lebanon. We have always declared our rejection of this agreement, in spite of the fact that

we have realized that Lebanon is beset by difficult circumstances. The most difficult of these circumstances has been the fact that Hafiz al-Asad has betrayed Lebanon and the Palestinian Revolution. He even went so far as to keep the Arab volunteers who had arrived in Damascus from going to Lebanon to participate in the war alongside the soldiers of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese forces who were fighting against the enemy.

His role in causing the schism in Fatah represents one facet of his policy which aims at causing a rift between the various groups and sects and strives to tear apart [the ranks of the Arabs] whenever possible. This has been his policy in Lebanon ever since his troops entered Lebanon, and this is the policy which he is attempting to establish in Syria by means of erecting his regime on a foundation of exploiting sectarianism.

Fatah constitutes the backbone of the PLO, and it is through the PLO that the Palestinian people have made their presence felt in the international arena and have obtained the recognition and respect of the countries which are in the UN. The Battle of Beirut earned the admiration of the whole world for the forces of the Palestinian Revolution. Also, the massacre at Sabra and Shatila aroused sympathy from the whole world for the Palestinian Revolution and resulted in contempt being felt by the whole world for Israel and for Hafiz al-Asad because of the position he took with regard to the Battle of Beirut and the massacre [at Sabra and Shatila].

One of Israel's goals and aspirations is to cause a split in Fatah. Israel hopes that the destruction of Fatah will then result in the destruction of the PLO, and that this will result in eliminating the Palestinian people from the world arena. This is also one of the objectives of the U.S. However, the U.S. and Israel have been unable to achieve this objective. But today Hafiz al-Asad is undertaking to achieve this objective.

Hafiz al-Asad's expulsion of Abu 'Ammar, the leader of the Palestinian Revolution, does not represent a personal position or attitude which he has toward him. It represents his position vis-a-vis the Palestinian Revolution. It was not meant to be an insult to Abu 'Ammar personally, but rather an insult to the Palestinian Revolution as represented by the person of Abu 'Ammar. We, however, believe that Hafiz al-Asad had already expelled Abu 'Ammar previously. We believe that he has expelled him from Syria ever since the Arab summit conference in Fes--that is, ever since the day when he refused to join in with all the kings and heads of state in the Arab world when they came out to greet Abu 'Ammar after the Battle of Beirut. The rift which occurred in Fatah and the expulsion of Abu 'Ammar were actions which earned praise from U.S. and Zionist leaders and caused them to feel malicious joy.

#### War Between Iraq and Iran

The war between Iraq and Iran still constitutes a wound through which the Arabs are losing blood and their capacities are being drained, and it is a wound which has been inflicted by aggression on the part of the regime in Iran. Iraq has responded favorably to all peace mediation attempts on the

part of the Muslim nations and the other nations of the world, and it has accepted in advance any ruling which they might issue after a cessation of hostilities.

Therefore Iraq has not allowed Iran to maintain any pretext to continue the war. Nevertheless, the Iranian regime of ignoramuses still insists on waging this war, and it is a war which is welcomed by both the Zionist enemy and the U.S. These two nations are the party which wishes to see the war continue because this war is causing a draining of Iraq's potential and is halting its growth and development.

Hafiz al-Asad's role in supporting the Iranian regime against Iraq is a reflection of the nature of his regime which is based on the policy of betraying the Arab world. In every battle he sides with the enemies of the Arab world.

The only explanation for the fact that this Iranian aggression against Iraq is continuing is the fact that the Iranian regime is harboring imperial Persian dreams which are clothed in Islamic garb. These dreams are being promoted by Khomeyni and they happen to coincide with the imperial dreams which are harbored by the Zionists as far as our Arab territory is concerned.

The fact that Hafiz al-Asad, in addition to the efforts undertaken by the Zionist enemy, has supplied Iran with Syrian arms and Syrian advisors to be used against Iraq both reveals his identity and the identity of the Iranian warmongers.

#### Support for the Palestinian Revolution

The relationship of the Arab people of Syria to the Palestinian Revolution is a special relationship. Although the Palestinian Revolution is the cause of all Arabs everywhere, it is one of the special causes of the Syrian people and it is virtually the same as the cause of the Syrian Revolution. This fact is due to firmly-intertwined historical, geographical, social, and cultural reasons which have made the two nations into one nation. Ever since the Palestinian Revolution broke out under British occupation, the Syrians have participated in it in terms of providing both human and material support for it, and even some of its leaders were Syrians. The course of events have proven that the road to Palestine necessarily leads through Damascus. The coming of Hafiz al-Asad to power in Syria has been something which has served to block this road, eliminate the role played by Syria in this battle, destroy the Palestinian Revolution, and consolidate the advances achieved by Zionist usurpation. This is why the loss of Syria is something which weakens--or rather, eliminates--the value of any party or force in the Arab world which is won over to the side of the Palestinian Revolution. The Palestinian Revolution has lost Syria ever since Hafiz al-Asad handed over the Golan Heights to the enemy.

In the lexicon of politics this represents a strategic loss which cannot be compensated for or even remedied by other gains. Perhaps our brethren in the Palestinian Revolution by now--although it is late--have seen confirmation

of this. We have always know this because it is something which is self-evident. We, as brethren of the Palestinians who are anxious to see the Palestinian Revolution succeed, feel that we should repeat to them some of the things which we said to them in our message to them on the occasion of the session which was held by the Palestine National Council in Algeria:

"Your real ally and partner in this battle is the Arab people of Syria. Our belief is that it is necessary to make a review of the positions taken in order that the Palestinian Revolution emerge from the crisis which it has been put into by Hafiz al-Asad. The Palestinian Revolution, in accordance with a planned course of action, has been herded from crisis to crisis by the Syrian regime which wishes to accomplish its destruction."

We assert today, as we have always asserted, that we stand by the Palestinian Revolution. However, we realize--and we wish to have our brethren who are the heroes of the Palestinian Revolution realize--that the freedom of Syria is a condition for having the Palestinian Revolution achieve its freedom as well as its security and effectiveness. What this means is that the fate of the Palestinian Revolution depends on the outcome of the battle for freedom which is going on inside Syria today against Hafiz al-Asad. The groundwork for the siege which is being imposed today by Hafiz al-Asad against Fatah in Syria and in the Biqa' Valley, as a prelude to the liquidation of Fatah and the consequent liquidation of the Palestinian Revolution, was laid by the numerous massacres which took place in Aleppo, Hims, Damascus, Jisr al-Shughur, Tadmur [Palmyra], Hamah, and in the other towns and villages of Syria.

The Syrian regime has also engaged in massacres in Tall al-Za'tar and everywhere else in Lebanon, leaving behind victims of its work of assassination and of its treachery such as Kamal Junblat, Salah al-Bitar, Sa'd Sayil, Salim al-Lawzi, Riyad Taha, and many others. Solidarity between the Syrian people and the Palestinian Revolution is something which must exist if victory is to be achieved. There is only one path to follow in this regard.

And finally, O great nation of ours, we must tell you that your enemies realize your importance in this battle and that is why they have dumped into your laps one of your worst enemies--Hafiz al-Asad, who was created especially by them. Your Lord has chosen you to be the guardian of the values of Islam and Arab values in this region. You must fight against the enemy of God. The wickedness of the Devil can be overcome. May peace be upon you--you who inhabit the resting place of the heroes and freedom-fighters, the homeland of the martyrs and virtuous ones, and the birthplace of the noble and blessed ones.

The Constituent Body of the National Alliance for the Liberation of Syria

1 August 1983

9468  
CSO: 4404/627

SLOWDOWN IN AGRICULTURAL GROWTH SEEN

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 28 Aug 83 p 6

[Article: "The Status of Syrian Agriculture: The Increase in Agricultural Exports, in Relation to Total Exports, Has Been Only 5 Percent"]

[Text] Syria's agricultural potential is great and is equalled only by its need to achieve a quantitative and qualitative level of agricultural production which would support its economy with a stable income--with the source of this income being either agriculture or agricultural industries based on this agriculture. So far the rate of increase in agricultural exports in Syria, in relation to total exports, is still only 5 percent. This rate equals the rate of increase in agricultural exports (15 percent) during the 5-year plan period for the years 1975-80. The years of the fifth 5-year plan period are supposed to be years of greater implementation and greater efforts being made in the direction of increasing agricultural exports, even though the text of the fifth 5-year plan issued by the State Planning Organization contains no paragraph dealing with agricultural exports and limits itself to setting figures which deal with land reclamation, land utilization, and production by the [agricultural] sector.

According to the strategic plan, irrigated land, as a percentage of the total cultivated land, is supposed to increase [from] 14.6 percent in the base year of 1980 to 31 percent by the year 2000. This will require the reclamation and irrigation of 880,000 hectares of land, at a rate of 60,000 hectares per year, in order that this land begin to be utilized by 1995 and then enter the stage of economic utilization by the year 2000.

The Fifth 5-Year Plan

It is within the framework of this strategy that the fifth 5-year plan has set its objectives. Increasing the relative percentage of irrigated land is one of the medium-term objectives of the agricultural plan. Right now this irrigated land amounts to 9 percent of Syria's total area, which amounts to 185,180 square kilometers. Semi-arid land constitutes 19.4 percent of Syria's total area, and 1.7 percent of Syria's total area is in the humid areas [where there is abundant rainfall]. For all practical purposes, these are the areas having the land which Syria relies on for its agriculture. Needless to say, stability in agriculture would depend on increasing the percentage of

irrigated land in order that the farmers become more and more able to be in control of natural factors and the agricultural processes themselves.

The fifth 5-year plan has the objective of beginning the utilization of 332,000 hectares of irrigated land, most of which is in the Euphrates basin. Also, there are plans to complete the construction of the al-Khabur River dam in the northern part of the country, to complete the irrigation and drainage networks associated with this dam, and to complete the construction of 20 small-size and medium-size dams which will store 179 million square meters of water. The plan also has the objective of completing the digging and construction of 20 irrigation and drainage networks for the purpose of achieving a 40 percent increase in the irrigation capability of the existing government irrigation networks. Also, the plan has the goal of increasing the rate of utilization of irrigated land from 137 percent in 1980 to 160 percent by 1985. Another objective of the plan is to decrease the percentage of fallow land in the second area of settlement such that the rate of utilization of the land will increase from 60 percent to 75 percent by 1985. This is in addition to [increasing] the yield from each land unit. The second area of settlement contains a total of 2,462,000 hectares of land at the present time, and this means that it comprises 13 percent of Syria's total area.

The fact is that 80 percent of this area is comprised of good land, and this amounts to 33.6 percent of the total area which is suitable for agriculture.

#### Surface Dams

Syria right now possesses a total of 71 surface dams. Their combined storage capacity is 187,936,000 cubic meters of water, and they are currently making possible the irrigation of 9,410 hectares of land. In addition to these dams, there are 13 other dams under construction, and their combined storage capacity will total 130 [million] cubic meters of water, and they will make possible the irrigation of another 9,120 hectares of land.

#### What do all of these statistics mean?

They mean that Syria has great potential and that there are large areas of land which can be utilized. There are areas which are not being utilized as well as they could be either because there is a lack of permanently-available irrigation water or for other reasons which cause the yield per unit of land to be unsatisfactory. This means that the greatest potential is that which involves agricultural production. However, there are other factors involved besides the agricultural potential. For one thing, the sector of agriculture is suffering a drain of its labor force. The rate of increase of those working in agriculture has been 6 percent, and this increase in relation to the [total] increase in the [number of] workers in Syria has been 9 percent. Furthermore, a total of 4,790,000 persons right now are engaged in agricultural work, and half of this total consists of women. When we consider the fact that Syria's rural areas contain 53 percent of its total population, then this means that we must deal with the situation of imbalance which caused the increase in agricultural exports, in relation

to total exports, to be only 5 percent during the fourth 5-year plan-- particularly since agricultural exports mainly rely on the export of cotton and some types of grain.

#### The Natural Role and Difficulties

During the previous [plan] period, the sector of agriculture maintained its basic natural role in the national economy. It achieved a steady increase in production which totalled 6.3 percent per year in terms of fixed prices. However, this level of production was not as high as was expected in accordance with the plan and it fell short of the aspirations of the planners, and this was due to shortcomings and difficulties which constituted obstacles to implementation both inside and outside the sector of agriculture.

These shortcomings and difficulties could be summarized as having been the following:

1. Agriculture did not produce all of the agricultural products necessary to meet the needs of domestic industry in Syria. This was particularly true with regard to olive seeds, sugar beets, and dairy products. Although agriculture was able to provide some of the foodstuffs which the consumers required, it was not able to achieve the level of self-sufficiency as far as the principle crops were concerned. The rate of implementation of the production plan ranged from 60 percent to 90 percent for some of the crops. The reason why the production plan could not be totally implemented could be the fact that agriculture relied on rainfall in the case of as much as 86 percent of the cultivated land area. Relying on rainfall is something which results in instability of production and in production having its ups-and-downs.
2. The rate of intensification of agriculture set by the plan, which was 160 percent of the irrigated land, was not achieved. Although this rate of intensification reached 99 percent in the first areas of settlement, this intensification did not achieve a proper level in the case of the irrigated land. There the rate of intensification achieved was only 137 percent.
3. Implementation of the land reclamation programs was not achieved, particularly in the Euphrates basin. There only 10 percent of the land to be reclaimed was actually reclaimed. In addition to this, about 50 percent of the capacity of the irrigation networks set up is still not being utilized.
4. The agricultural sector is suffering from widespread disguised and seasonal unemployment. This is something which causes low productivity on the part of those working in this sector. This productivity totalled 6,000 Syrian pounds, whereas the productivity of those working [in all sectors] in 1980, was 14,000 Syrian pounds, according to 1975 prices.

Concerning the reasons for the low rate of implementation of the land reclamation plans as a whole, the economic report has the following to say:

1. The fourth 5-year plan was too ambitious in relation to available resources and the enormity of the burdens being shouldered. The result of this was that it was not possible to reclaim 48,000 hectares of land per year, and it was not possible to meet the requirements of the organizations engaging in implementation, whether they were foreign organizations or local Syrian organizations.

2. Neither the local Syrian organizations nor the foreign organizations with which contracts were concluded lived up to their commitments, in spite of the fact that there were implementation deadlines.

In addition to this, there were other reasons for this failure in the land reclamation program, and they had to do with the fact that the area set aside for land reclamation in the plan had to be reduced because natural and geological obstacles emerged.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY TALKS FOR YEMENS CONDUCTED

Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 7 Sep 83 p 2

[Text] The meetings of the second session of the joint board of directors of the Geological Survey Project for the two parts of the nation began yesterday morning in Sanaa. The meetings were led by 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Bahr, minister of state for petroleum and mineral affairs and member of the permanent committee, and 'Abd-al-Qadir Ba Hammal, minister of industry and head of the Organization for Oil and Minerals in South Yemen.

At the beginning of the meeting, 'Ali al-Bahr welcomed the council members from the southern part of the nation. He expressed his pleasure at this meeting aimed at formulating the basic features of the project and pointed to the support and cooperation the project has met with--especially from the leaderships of the two Yemens represented by Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad--so that the project now stands on the threshold of implementation.

The minister also talked about the coming phase of the project. Afterward, Mr Ba Jammal expressed his thanks to the chairman and members representing the northern part of the country. He said: "This meeting of ours will help to achieve substantial and practical steps. Our hope for the experience of joint action is that it will enter a new and profitable phase that will help lay the basic foundations for joint action."

The board then discussed a number of matters including a report submitted by the general director of the project, which contained the scope of work of the project during the past phase and a summary of the accomplishments that have been realized. The board also discussed a study of the geological map which shows the boundaries of work areas for the project, documents pertaining to the discussion of geophysical activities, and the project document prepared by experts of the United Nations Development Program. [UNDP].

The board will continue its session today to complete the discussion of its agenda items.

8591  
CSO: 4404/3

BRIEFS

**MINERAL PROSPECTING IN NORTH--**Prospecting for rare minerals has begun in the northeast area. An official source at the Oil and Minerals Organization announced that the organization's central laboratory has received the necessary equipment and has begun analyzing samples of zinc, lead, and silver. In a statement published yesterday in the newspaper SEPTEMBER 26, the source said that the project for preliminary prospecting in the northeast area is an important step in the implementation of the 23 May program. In connection with this program, the president and secretary general of the General Popular Conference announced that he would work with all his energy during his second term to extract wealth from the earth for the benefit of the people. He explained that the goal of preliminary prospecting and exploration for minerals consists of locating mining sites and locations with evidence of minerals and renewing these sites in order to provide a basis for initiating a detailed cost-benefit study. It should be noted that most parts of the northern area are covered by rocks that are more than 6 million years old. The geological makeup and constituents of these rocks indicate the presence of a number of rare minerals. It is worth mentioning that the Organization for Oil and Minerals in continuing similar exploratory activities that it began several years ago in Radda', Nahm, al-Bayda', Ma'rib, and al-Hamurah in cooperation with certain specialized foreign companies. [Text] [Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 20 Aug 83 p 1] 8591

**ECONOMIC PROTOCOL WITH FRG--**Yesterday at the Central Planning Organization, a protocol for economic and technical cooperation was signed between our country and the Federal Republic of Germany. The signing came at the conclusion of talks between the Yemeni side, under the leadership of minister of planning and head of the Central Planning Organization Fu'ad Qa'id Muhammad, and the German side, under the leadership of Dr Willi Eihmann, deputy minister of economic cooperation, who is presently visiting our country. The protocol stipulates that the FRG government will allocate DM 30 million to finance drinking water projects and a construction program in the governorate of Dhamar. It will also allocated DM 21 million to expand a number of current projects in the fields of rural development and technical training in our country. The minister of development and head of the central planning organization signed the protocol for Yemen while the deputy minister of economic cooperation signed for the FRG. The signing ceremonies were attended by a representative of the Foreign Ministry and representatives of the other ministries concerned. [Text] [Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 6 Sep 83 p 2] 8591

## AFGHANISTAN

### DANGER OF SOVIET 'CULTURAL INVASION' DISCUSSED

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Oct 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] NEW DELHI, (UPI)--Two Afghan newscasters from Soviet-controlled Kabul Radio who fled Afghanistan said recently guerillas have not stopped the Russian "cultural invasion" which is destroying Afghan society.

"The tragedy is that most of Afghanistan's writers, artists and poets were forced to leave the country because of harassment and persecution," said Farida Anwari.

"The Soviets would like future generations of Afghans to forget our cultural values," she said.

Mrs. Anwari, 36, and her colleague Karima Tahoori, 32, worked for several years as announcers and commentators on Kabul Radio and Television, Mrs. Anwari said.

The two women fled Afghanistan seven months ago but recently came to New Delhi after living with refugees in Pakistan, they said at a news conference.

Until fleeing the country, they remained on the staff despite the December, 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan so they could help the anti-Communist resistance movement.

They tried to dilute Soviet propaganda but fled because they feared their lives were in danger.

"On our programs we emphasized our literary heritage which represents resistance by Afghans in past centuries against invaders, to remind people there is now an aggressor and that we have this tradition of resistance," Mrs. Anwari said.

After 115,000 Soviet troops invaded the country, Afghan radio and television put much more emphasis on Russian culture and values. ("There is a Russian cultural invasion of Afghanistan that is very dangerous. The resistance hasn't been able to counter the Soviets in this area," Mrs. Anwari said.

The Russian programs include broadcasts on the culture, poetry, sports, politics, language and history of the Soviet Union, they said.

They called on Afghan refugees, especially the intelligensia, to speak out throughout the world. "If we cannot go to the front with weapons, we can do that with our pens and words" against the Soviets, Mrs. Anwari said.

Meanwhile, an IRNA report from Zahedan said a group of defenceless Afghan people whose homes were destroyed as a result of brutal bombardments by the Joint Soviet and Afghan Forces, were forced to migrate to neighbouring countries.

They stated that the Soviet Forces attacked the houses of Afghan people and plundered their properties and foodstuff to feed themselves.

One of the immigrants said that all the robberies were carried out by means of helicopters. He continued that a Soviet helicopter carrying several aggressor officers stopped a passenger minibus along Islam-Qale road to Herat last week and its occupants looted all the properties of the passengers including Cash, Jewelry, and Watches.

Another Afghan immigrant said that he had witnessed the Soviet Forces steal fruit from orchards.

CSO: 4600/85

CAUTION URGED IN IMPOSING TRADE PROTECTION MEASURES

Dhaka DAINIK BANGLA in Bengali 1 Sep 83 p 5

[Editorial: "The Interests of National Industries"]

[Text] It is common knowledge that national industries must be protected, and such protection is given by all countries. In a country like ours, where the foundations of industry are relatively weak and it is difficult to compete with goods from foreign industries, a protective shield is all the more necessary. It is essential to give protection to domestic goods in order to ensure the progress of national industries.

Although our progress in the industrial sector has not been noteworthy, some domestically produced goods have already started to meet internal demands and in certain areas we are even edging closer to self-sufficiency. Generally speaking, the development of a national industry cannot be automatic despite its being given protection over a long period of time. First, the standard of locally produced goods is rather low and the price is relatively high. Second, whether imported or brought in through smuggling, foreign goods are detrimental to national industries.

It is under these circumstances that the Chief Martial Law Administrator Gen H. M. Ershad announced that the importation of goods that can be produced locally will be prohibited. He further stated that a full list of such merchandise is already under preparation.

General Ershad's announcement and the government initiative in this matter deserve to be commended. National industries must be protected in the interests of ensuring our progress in the industrial sector; this must be done to protect domestically produced goods and national merchandise must be saved from all-out competition from foreign goods. To encourage domestic industries, the dependence on imported goods should be decreased. Unless these steps are taken, our backwardness in the industrial sector cannot be redressed. It is also essential to alter radically the attitude of the buying public. It is important to draw attention to the fact that our weakness for foreign goods should not be detrimental to national industries and the national economy in general. There is a class of suddenly rich people in our country whose demands cannot be satisfied without foreign merchandise.

But while giving protection to national industries, certain factors will have to be kept in mind. First, it is generally observed that a lack of competition with foreign merchandise leads to the lowering of standards in domestically produced goods. At the same time, taking advantage of the situation, the manufacturers increase prices. As a result, the buying public is forced to purchase goods of lower standards at higher prices. The buyers suffer and the manufacturers make more profits. This is why even our ordinary buying public is turned off by domestic merchandise and shows more interest in foreign goods. In fact, the main reason is the lower quality of the domestic goods. If the purchaser can buy foreign goods of higher quality at relatively low prices or even at the same price, naturally he or she would be inclined to do so. Therefore, our industrialists must keep in mind the fact that while a protectionist system for national industry is essential, protection of the interests of the buying public is equally important, and appropriate steps must be taken to this end.

6790

CSO: 4607/16

INDIA CRITICIZED FOR INTERFERING IN NEIGHBORS' AFFAIRS

Dhaka ITTEFAQ in Bengali 30 Aug 83 p 2

[Text] As a result of various conflicting events, India's relations with its neighbors have deteriorated. In a report from New Delhi, AFP ascribes this to events and statements that have taken place over the past 3 weeks. It was noted that during this time, a number of events have taken place in different countries of the subcontinent. In expressing reaction to these events, the Indian Government, referring to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, stated that "India cannot close its eyes to the tragic and significant chain of events taking place in a neighboring country." Within 72 hours after Mrs Gandhi voiced this opinion at the South Asia Regional Cooperation (SARC) conference, Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao in a written statement presented to the Lok Sabha, advised "all other nations" to keep away. He warned that "any attempt to interfere in the events of Sri Lanka by any other nation may lead to disastrous results." There were various editorial comments in the Indian papers following Mr Rao's speech in parliament. Strongly criticizing the military assistance that is available to the neighboring countries, the TIMES OF INDIA in an editorial said: "Mr Rao has issued the warning at an appropriate moment." Before this warning faded away, Mrs Indira Gandhi, referring to the political crisis in Pakistan, commented: "We have to oppose injustice wherever it takes place." She added: "We cannot remain unconcerned about the developments in Pakistan." At the same time, the Indian prime minister said: "A barbed fence will be erected along the India-Bangladesh border."

It may be recalled that on the 2nd of this month an agreement on regional cooperation in South Asia was signed at the Vigyan Bhavan in New Delhi. This declaration states clearly that "there will be mutual respect and full recognition of regional integrity, national sovereignty and political independence," and "a country will desist from interfering in the internal affairs of another country." However, the statements and policy of the Indian Government, as indicated in the past 3 weeks, are not consistent with the SARC declaration. The Indian reaction to the events in different countries of the subcontinent instead reflects the attitude of a rising big power. The Indian viewpoint appears to be more consistent with the attitude expressed by all-powerful nations toward the internal affairs of their neighbors. Needless to say, the present ambition of India runs counter to the interests of peace, progress, nonaggression, cooperation, amity, peaceful co-existence and the conquest of hunger and poverty in the subcontinent.

## BRIEFS

**BODY TO BOOST NONRESIDENT INVESTMENTS--**The Indian Government proposes to set up a corporation to deal with investments by non-resident Indians in the country, according to a Press release by Abu Dhabi-based Indian Government-owned Indian Investment Centre. To be owned and controlled by non-resident Indians the corporation will take steps to ensure safety of capital, reasonable returns and creation of job opportunities for investors. The corporation will promote independent companies for priority and high technology industries and export units. It will also take measures to revive sick units starting for funds and the input of sound and efficient management. Separate divisions for investments in solar powered systems, equipment leasing, real estate, agriculture and finances are proposed to be created. It is felt among official circles that the corporation can deliver the good only if, apart from the permission to invest in real estate and agriculture, certain exemptions and relaxations are allowed in wealth tax, income tax, estate duty and gift tax. Also under consideration is that non-resident Indians with approved projects should be allowed to stay in India for six months without affecting their non-resident status, says the Press release. [Doha GULF TIMES in English 17 Oct 83 p 12]

CSO: 4600/89

IRAN THREATENS CLOSURE OF HORMUZ STRAIT

Supreme Defense Council Adopts Decisions

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 29 Sep 83 p 3

/Text/ The Supreme Defense Council convened Wednesday night, chaired by Hojjat ol-Eslam va ol-Moslemin Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the president. The meeting was attended by Hojjat ol-Eslam va ol-Moslemin Hasemi Rafsanjani, Majlis speaker and imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council, Eng Musavi, the prime minister, Gen Zahirnezhad, chief of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic republic, Col Salimi, minister of defense, brother Rafiqdust, guards minister, Kamal Kharazi, chief of the War Propaganda Staff, and brother Nazaran, secretary of the Supreme Defense Council. There was a discussion and exchange of views concerning the latest developments on the fronts of truth's battle against evil, and the cooperation between the region's reactionary countries and Iraq's Zionist regime. At the end of the Supreme Defense Council meeting, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Majlis and the imam's representative on the council, was interviewed by correspondents from Voice and Profile of Iran and IRNA. Concerning issues raised during last night's meeting of the Supreme Defense Council, he said: Matters were raised concerning the status of the fronts and future war operations. Some naval commanders also attended the session due to the mission they have of protecting the Persian Gulf. Since it is possible that problems might arise in this region these days, their plans were examined, and decisions were made concerning Persian Gulf security and the Strait of Hormuz.

He added: A portion of our discussion concerned strengthening the nation's defense and providing defense and military resources. A special committee, composed of representatives from the Supreme Defense Council, the Army, the Guards, and the ministries of foreign affairs, defense and guards, has been organized in order to speed up the work of purchasing weapons and supplying resources and to do so in a more coordinated fashion.

Concerning reaction to War Week programs, he said: What we have read of received reports indicates that the Iranian people have still not tired of the war and that they warmly welcomed this week. The enthusiasm and zeal of the people was perfectly evident. On the whole our status on the war front as War Week began affected popular judgment, and the people's presence on the scene was completely clear and beyond expectations. On the whole it was good for us, and I think it

renewed morale and revitalized the war issue. Concerning the president's recent warning to Persian Gulf littoral countries regarding aid to Iraq's Zionist regime and the threats by western countries to send combat vessels to control the Persian Gulf, he said: His Honor Khamene'i, who is the highest authority to speak on this matter, naturally expressed our policy. But we put little weight on the reactions by world media. It is clear that we have maintained the security of the Persian Gulf up to the present, and that its maintenance in the future will be our responsibility. Everyone knows that the world's great powers have no business entering this region anymore. Just as they came to Lebanon and could not accomplish anything, they will not be able to do anything here. In general these threats are not worth much attention.

#### Continued Aid to Saddam's Regime

Concerning the reaction of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Government to the continuation of assistance both military and economic to Iraq's regime, he said: We advise them to cease their assistance to Iraq because our toleration has a limit. Of course they deny aiding Iraq and they have never officially admitted it. The general principle for us is Persian Gulf security. We ignore some problems for the sake of Persian Gulf security. Of course there is also a limit here, and we ourselves determine the limit.

#### Visit to War-struck Areas

Concerning recent visits by the chief of the International Red Cross to the ruined war zones, the speaker of the Majlis said: Now that Iran is more powerful in the war, and Saddam's position is naturally clearer than it was in the past due to his political weakness, the world has tried to revise its previous positions. The world's flexibility in these matters can be observed. This does not pertain to the Red Cross alone, for the world now comprehends this subject. If they come and see Khorramshahr and Hovizeh, they cannot remain unaffected. If a person sees the destruction and relates even one-hundredth of what he sees to the world, it benefits us. In general we see a kind of flexibility on the part of international authorities and some powers arising from the victories of our combatants and the Iraqi weakness on the fronts. Certainly the future of the war has become a bit clearer. In the past they said there would be no military victory but now they deem a military victory probable. The Red Cross, which displayed angry policies, has made a change and therefore we may see a better position on their part.

#### Lebanese Conditions

Concerning the ceasefire in Lebanon, the speaker of the Majlis said: No ceasefire can be forcibly imposed until the desires of the Lebanese people are met. Israel has seized the south of Lebanon and has set up Sa'ad Haddad as its servant there, but we have seen they have not been able to do anything, plus military action has climaxed. They forcibly expelled the Palestinians from Beirut, but we saw that the ceasefire they forcibly established there did not last even a day. He added: Four of the world's great powers have deployed their forces in Beirut, and their ships and huge aircraft carriers have anchored near the area. If this happened anywhere else in the world it would create terror, but the Lebanese people,

particularly the Muslims, continue on their way. This type of ceasefire cannot be secured by force in Lebanon. It might end some clashes, but the presence of Israel, the superpowers and other forces certainly cannot achieve any final result. Rationally, the desires of the Lebanese people should be given attention. A government should not be foisted on them. This ceasefire will fail just as ones in the past. In reality, the countries that have deployed their forces in the region are causing the instability and unrest in Lebanon.

#### Strait Closure on 'Khomeyni's Order'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 29 Sep 83 p 3

/Text/ Graduates of the '01' Cadre Training Center were sworn in and granted shoulder bars in ceremonies held yesterday morning on the center's parade ground. The ceremonies were attended by the Army Commander.

The ceremonies were attended by Col Sayyad-Shirazi, commander of the Army of the Islamic republic, a group of officials from the army's Political-Ideological Sections, commanders, professors and trainers from the '01' Training Center, personnel from units formed from the 'Qods' units, and a group of families whose sons from the '01' center were martyred. The army commander began by reviewing the units in the parade ground.

The ceremonies of swearing in and granting shoulder bars to the graduates of the '01' Cadre Training Center then began with the recitation of several verses from the glorious Word of God. Colonel Madani, commander of the '01' training center, then gave a report on the method of training and the combat ability of the graduates. While welcoming the attendees, he stressed the staunch resistance of the '01' training center's personnel to the plots of world arrogance.

After completing the swearingin ceremonies, the Army Commander presented a student representative with shoulder bars and beseeched beneficent God for their victory and greatest possible success in the fight for the freedom and independence of the Islamic homeland.

Then Col Sayyad-Shirazi addressed the personnel present, and described the important duties of the graduates and the combat power of Islam's soldiers on the battlefronts.

He began by congratulating the students on their readiness to don their shoulder bars and take part in the battle of truth against falsehood, and stated: The fact that the ceremonies granting you your shoulder bars coincides with Imposed War Week I take to be a good omen, and I hope this pleasing circumstance will be followed by bright victories.

Pointing to the valuable effects of War Week programs in perpetuating and maintaining the revolutionary morale of Islam's soldiers and the ever-involved nation of Iran, the Army Commander said: The brilliant results of this week have made our enemies aware of the evil consequences of their plots and intrigues, and bring glad tidings of victory and the liberation of the oppressed.

Pointing to the superpowers' anxiety over the "neither East nor West" policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Col Sayyad Shirazi said: Through the lofty efforts of the ever-involved Iranian nation and the bravery and staunchness of our troops on the fronts of the imposed war, we have successfully put behind us various phases of the plots by the enemies of the Islamic revolution. Today with the power of faith and the bravery of our troops on the fronts, we are going forward towards successfully putting an end to the enemy's last plot for the destruction of the Islamic revolution, namely the plot of the imposed war.

Addressing the troops of Islam, the Army Commander said: Through your strength we succeeded in reducing the sinister ties of the counterrevolution with the Saddamist enemy in the western region to the minimum level possible, and through God's favour we are close to completely severing those ties.

Col Sayyad Shirazi then pointed to the blessings of the imposed war, and gave examples from the fruitful transformation of the Iranian Army into one powerful Islamic army. He stated: Today our troops in the Hamzeh Seyyed osh-Shohada Base in the country's west are proud to be bravely struggling against counter-revolutionaries and the mercenaries of Saddam's puppet regime simultaneously, and to present their brilliant victories as gifts to the Islamic nation.

The Army Commander stressed: If in order to realize the Islamic Republic of Iran's righteous aims it is necessary to continue the battle with the Saddamist enemy up to Baghdad, we will do so.

He added: Just as we find the strength in ourselves to continue the war, our youths and combatants have reached a level of power and capability that affirms the carrying out the order by imam Khomeyni, the commander in chief, to form the 10-million-strong army.

We are rapidly moving forward to organize the forces of the 10-million-strong army by organizing the 'Qods' Brigades in the armed forces and carrying out the important "Here I Am Khomeyni" Plan in the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps.

Pointing to the combat power Islam's troops have to close the Strait of Hormuz, Col Sayyad Shirazi said: After 3 years of the imposed war, the world's plotters must have realized that the Islamic revolution of Iran will back up each of its words with action. We have the power to close the Strait of Hormuz, and if this be necessary, we will do it on the order of the commander in chief, imam Khomeyni.

At the end of his speech the Army Commander prayed for the final victory of Islam's combatants and the health and long life of the nation's imam.

As the ceremonies continued, the units on the field paraded past the glorious Koran.

When the ceremonies concluded, Col Sayyad-Shirazi, accompanied by a group of army commanders, inspected various parts of the '01' training center and a book and photograph exhibit put on by the personnel of the '01' training center's Political Belief Unit. The commander expressed his appreciation of the valuable services of officials of the '01' training center in propagating Islamic culture in the training center.

MUSAVI HEADS HIGH-RANKING DELEGATION TO PDRK

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] TEHRAN, (IRNA)--Islamic Republic Premier Mir Hussein Musavi heading a high ranking Iranian delegation left yesterday for a visit to Pyong Yang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).

Accompanying Prime Minister Musavi are Colonel Mohammad Salimi, defence minister, State Minister in Charge of Executive Affairs Agha Zadeh and other Iranian officials.

Speaking to an IRNA reporter before their departure Prime Minister Musavi said that the two countries enjoyed good relations.

He said also that last year the DPRK president had made a visit to Iran and this visit was in response to an invitation extended by that country's president.

Commenting on efforts to expel the Zionist regime from the UN, and Iran's stance, he said that Iran's representative in the UN actively pursued the issue. He also said that imperialist countries led those who staunchly opposed this move.

He said further that 42 countries favoured the proposals of the Islamic Republic and that this stance would be followed up till the ousting of the Zionist regime from the U.N.

Prime Minister Musavi further commenting on the Iraqi missile attack, said that Iran would not budge from its legal stance till it had made the world conscience aware of the innocent victims of such savage attacks.

CSO: 4600/87

#### REASONS FOR DISTURBANCES IN SIND NOTED, ASSESSED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 4 Oct 83 p 7

/Article by Mukhtar Aaqil: "Reasons for Feelings of Deprivation"/

/Text/ Some people think that the MRD in Sind was the result of feelings of deprivation caused by the establishment of a single administrative unit in Sind. This feeling is now causing a critical situation there. People are feeling the deprivation in the areas of education, employment, planning and others. The ideas and statements of G. M. Said and Mumtaz Ali Bhutto have made these feelings even worse. This writer traveled in various rural and urban areas of Sind recently to investigate the causes of this feeling of deprivation. The findings are summarized here.

Landlords own 79 percent of Sind's arable land. These landlords and their holdings play an important part in elections and they wield a great deal of influence in every sphere of life there. The strength of their influence can be measured by the example of the late Mr Bhutto, leader of the defunct People's Party /PPP/, who made separate representations to these landlords as prime minister even after gaining a majrotiy in Punjab and Sind. He did not want to lose influence and all this resulted in the birth of Bangladesh and the establishment of PPP rule in the "new Pakistan."

During the present regime, opportunities for these landlords to participate in municipal councils, state councils and advisory councils as members and ministers were provided. Abdul Ghafoor Bhargari, general secretary of the defunct PPP and Liaqat Jatoi, previously a member of the National Assembly, and several other officers of the party were offered membership in the National Advisory Council. Sardar Gulam Mohammad Mahir was made a minister. Liaqat Jatoi's property is located at Mehar in Daud district where antigovernment activities are more prevalent than in other areas. It is common knowledge that he resigned from membership in the advisory council because of the pressure from some "zealous elements." Similar stories are told about the resignations of Nawab Shah and Said Asghar Ali Shah. Begum Tahira Agha of Hyderabad resigned from the state council and Hyderabad's municipal council because of a reported threat to burn her fruit farm. Despite all this, most advisory council and state council members sympathize and cooperate with the government.

During the president's recent trip to Sind, Prof Gulam Hussein Jalbani, a member of the Advisory Council, complained to Mr Zia that his family and other people were pressuring him to resign from the Advisory Council. The president advised him to follow his own conscience. This member is still in limbo between his conscience and the wishes of his family. Another example of the power of Sind's landlords is that they participated in the establishment of the Convention League by the late president, Ayub Khan. Makhdoom Mohammad Zaman was one of them and the late Bhutto acted as its general secretary. When the defunct PPP came to power, these landlords gradually joined it.

The influence of the landlords before the establishment of Pakistan was also great. In 1937, Quaid-e Azam Jinnah decided to cooperate with the liberal Muslims to defeat the landlords and Khan Bahadur in the state elections. The Muslim League, however, was badly beaten because of this experimental approach. Only two Muslim Leaguers, Raja Ghazaffar Ali Khan and Malik Barkat Ali Khan, won in this election from Punjab. Raja Ghazaffar Ali Khan later joined the Unionist Party.

The "real leaders" of Muslims were the nawabs, landlords and other titleholders. When they were accommodated by the Muslim League, it won the elections by a large majority. In light of all this, the reason why Sind landlords participate in the movement there is clear. The implementation of martial law after the fall of PPP deprived these landlords of their usual influence and power. Awards and gifts became scarce and, instead, demands from banks for repayment of loans increased. Property and land was confiscated under the Land Revenue Act and electricity supply to tube wells was cut off on nonpayment of electric bills. When government taxes were not paid, these landlords were fined or jailed. Makhdoom Mohammad Zaman Talib-e Almola, vice chairperson of the defunct PPP and a leader of the present antigovernment movement, told this writer that most of the MRD leaders now in jail are head over heels in debt. He added that the landlords were greatly agitated by increases in the prices of fertilizers, agricultural machinery and seed. They find themselves penniless at harvest time. When in power, the landlords can find numerous ways to make money. They obtain such benefits as government contracts, permits and various licenses. When they are out of power, these fringe benefits disappear and a feeling of real deprivation takes over. This is the feeling of deprivation that forced the landlords to join ranks with the MRD in this movement.

The participation of two very different groups in a common movement has amazed the experts on social stratification. In the present situation of the MRD in which these landlords wrote a new chapter by their participation, Sind's farmers also played a prominent role. The farmers take part in various processions conducted in the interior, rural areas of Sind. Some times these processions include oxcarts; at other times the landlords supply the farmers with their tractors and flatbeds for these processions and demonstrations. These processions are miles long and show the zeal of the farmers. They end either in peaceful voluntary arrests or in confrontations with the police. The government recently canceled the permits of Nawab Shah's Jamali brothers to run buses as these buses were used in demonstrations. Both Mustafa Jamali and Khan Mohammad Jamali had participated in the earlier Istiqlal movement and are active in the present movement as well. The active participation of farmers in this movement is

is attributed to the influence of these landlords and spiritual leaders. Another important reason is the unemployment prevalent in the rural areas of Sind. Modern agricultural machinery has undermined the importance of labor and helped increase unemployment by leaps and bounds. Since there is no alternative employment available in these rural areas, these farmers face acute economic problems. The peaceful life there is severely disrupted. The clamor for TV sets, refrigerators and other goods has influenced the lives of villagers as well. These problems have jointly pushed the villagers in Sind toward participation in the movement. The Sind Farmers Committee, a branch of the Sind Common Movement plays an important role in the management of these demonstrations. The members of this committee were second only to the defunct PPP in offering themselves for voluntary arrests.

The young men and students in Sind have always complained about being deprived in the areas of education and jobs. The era after 1968 has been characterized by the rise of the Sind Student Federation under the leadership of Sind's veteran politician G. M. Said. To reduce the influence of this organization, the previous government offered lucrative government positions to officers and members of this organization. About 30 young men were made deputy superintendents of police. Employment opportunities in the Cotton Export Corporation, Rice Export Corporation and other corporations were also offered. As a result of these steps, the Sind Student Federation was pacified and it even split into three separate factions. The screening process that took place after 6 July 1977 eliminated employees hired during the earlier regime. Employment opportunities based solely on the recommendations of persons in influential positions were also eliminated. In educational institutions, admission using forged domicile certificates were investigated. About 50 students attending Sind University, Mihran Engineering University, the Agricultural University, Tandojam Liaqat Medical College and Chand Medical College were expelled. The deteriorating condition of education can be seen by the fact that Mihran Engineering University and Liaqat Medical College have been closed for the past 4 months. These angry people in Sind also complain that people in Karachi, Hyderabad and other parts of the country are apathetic about their problems and do not participate in their efforts to gain their rights. This anger is gradually increasing and the government is aware of this anger and hatred. For this reason, the schedule for the municipal elections was changed and it was decided to hold elections in two phases. In areas where there are more disturbances, these elections took place on 2 October. These efforts to recognize problems and attempts at pacification should not be limited; they need additional depth. The government must create an atmosphere that eliminates this hate and anger and fosters love and confidence.

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CSO: 4656/14

#### ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF POLITICAL DISCONTENT DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 7 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Omar Asghar Khan: "Economic Implications of Political Discontent--An Overview"]

[Text] Over the past few days sections of the business community have been expressing concern over the impact of the current political situation on economic trends in the country. At the moment, it is the transport and trading community which are feeling the pinch most. According to independent sources, there has been a reduction of 30 to 40 per cent of goods traffic between Karachi and Punjab since the middle of August, the time the political parties launched their democratic movement. There has also been an escalation in costs of road haulage between Karachi and the Northern areas. By some accounts, on the average, the cost per truck has, over the past month and a half, gone up by Rs. 1000.00.

Due to the disturbed conditions in Sind, private trucks have been plying mainly in the day time, while NLC vehicles are hardly being used. This has greatly reduced the movement of goods. Road transportation is the primary source of movement of goods between Karachi and the Northern areas, with only a small proportion being transported by train. Trains also have not been running smoothly and on time from Karachi through Sind. The net result of the agitation in Sind being that goods and passenger traffic has been less than what it is normally. According to rather simple calculations, the loss incurred by the Railways due to reduced traffic could not be less than Rs. 20 to 30 crores. Meanwhile, private transporters are also suffering losses, the exact amount, however, being difficult to ascertain.

#### Disruption in Economy

If the present situation continues, the impact of the disturbed condition will soon spread to other sections of society and sectors of the economy. With reduction in the traffic of goods and the drying up of stocks held by wholesalers and retailers, shortages of commodities, accompanied by price hikes will begin to stare consumers in the face. As the two provinces of Punjab and Sind are heavily dependent on each other for supplies of raw materials as well as markets, interruptions in the movement of goods, will not only afflict business activity in Punjab and Sind but in other parts of the country as well.

Once the market, which can be termed as the pulse of economy, is disturbed, it does not take long for the heart of the economy, the productive sectors, to get infected by the virus of instability. Whereas the immediate impact of the agitation in Sind is being felt by transporters and traders, industrialists, if they have not yet been affected, will sooner or later begin to feel the strain. According to newspaper reports, industries producing at least two commodities, textiles and steel billets, are facing disturbed market conditions. As a result, textile mill owners in Sind and steel producers in the Punjab have been complaining of liquidity problems because of stockpiling, which in turn is a result of the disturbed market conditions between Sind and Punjab. The stock market has shown signs of a slack with the result that share prices have shown a downward trend.

As far as the agricultural sector is concerned, a continuation of the disturbances, would in the long run, adversely affect productivity as well as the supply of output to various market, domestic and external. Besides dependence on local manufactured inputs, the agricultural sector depends to a large extent on imported inputs, important amongst which is phosphate fertilizer. Almost the entire amount of the fertilizer used by our farmers is imported via Karachi. It is possible to roughly evaluate the impact on different crops of a reduction in the supply of this fertilizer. In the case of just one crop, wheat, 15 million bags of phosphatic fertilizer were imported for use in 1981-82. A stoppage in the supply of phosphatic fertilizer would reduce the current output of wheat from 11 million tons to around 6 to 7 million tons. While on the one hand a reduction in agricultural output would create food shortages, on the other hand, it would reduce the country's foreign exchange earnings.

Presently, cotton and cotton-made products have the largest share in the country's earnings. Of a total merchandise export earnings of \$2.6 billion in 1981-82, the cotton group earned Pakistan in foreign exchange \$800 million, almost one-third of the total export earnings. Sind's share in the total of 4200 bales of cotton produced in the country in 1980-81 was 1407 bales or one-third of the total. In the case of sugar cane and wheat, two important crops that meet domestic demand, Sind has a significant share. As far as rice is concerned, in 1980-81 Sind produced the largest quantity as compared to other provinces. The disturbed political conditions would not only adversely affect the import and export of essential agricultural inputs and products but also push up prices of food goods.

#### Inflationary Pressures

While discussing the present politico-economic situation in the country, one should bear in mind that about 50 percent of the country's industry is situated in and around Karachi in the Sind province. Not only are industries like the prestigious Steel Mills located close to Karachi, but the petroleum industry operates from Karachi as well. These two industries are absolutely vital to the country's social and economic well-being. While disruption and delays in the availability of steel would affect the pace of industrial production in the country, shortages in the supply of petroleum would create bottlenecks in the transportation of goods.

Another dimension of the slowdown in goods traffic, is its impact on government revenues. If the movement of imported items via Karachi slows down, import orders would decline. As a result of reduction in imports, revenues from import duties would decline. In 1981-82, revenue on account of custom duties on imports at Rs. 14,690 million was almost 50 per cent of the government's total indirect taxes (taxes on commodities and transactions) of Rs. 31,484 million. Not only would revenue on account of import duties decline, but due to reduced movement of commodities internally in the medium to long term, government revenue on account of excise duty, sales tax and surcharge fall short. Without a proportional reduction in the Federal Government's current expenditure, especially on defence and law order, the reduction in revenue receipts would result in deficit financing, which in turn would add to inflation.

#### Political Solution

Unless the present political crisis is resolved politically, it is not likely that the situation will normalise. It is the need of the hour that rather than opting for stricter and harsher measures to deal with the situation, the grievances of the Sindhis as well as the people of other provinces be given due weight.

CSO: 4600/63

MINISTER DENIES DISRUPTION OF GOODS TRAFFIC IN SIND

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 7 Oct 83 p 6

[Excerpt] Lahore, Oct. 6--The Minister for Railways Abdul Ghafoor Khan of Hoti today described as baseless reports that the transportation of goods from Karachi upcountry had been reduced because of the activities of saboteurs in certain parts of Sind.

Talking to newsmen at Hoti House here, the Minister said that before the start of the violence by the self-styled MRD, the railways had been running 10 goods trains with an average 65 wagons each from Karachi upcountry daily, and that number was being maintained.

The saboteurs, he said, did try on some occasions to harass the staff of goods trains at night, but they had never succeeded in impeding the flow of goods to and from upcountry. They could not dare do that during daylight, he added.

He said there was also not an iota of truth in the rumours that the Punjab and other provinces were facing a shortage of petrol, kerosene oil and other goods coming from Karachi. The flow of such goods was as normal as a few months back, he said, and added that all upcountry depots were full of oil and lubricants to the maximum.

The Minister said that the railway had taken adequate measures for the safety of passengers and goods, and there was nothing to worry about on that count, he invited journalists to travel from Lahore to Karachi as his guests to see for themselves the safety arrangements and normal flow of passengers and goods traffic.

CSO: 4600/63

COMMENTARY ON RELATIONS WITH AMERICA, MRD-GOVERNMENT CONFRONTATION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 8 Oct 83 p 4

[Article in the "Spectrum" column by Khalid Akhtar: "The American Connection"]

[Text] Pak-U.S. ties have always remained a subject of debate in both countries. In the Capitol Hill there has been a strong lobby supportive of India, and no amount of goodwill and sincerity on our part has cut any ice there. Similarly there have been quarters here who have questioned the wisdom of looking for security beyond the Atlantic. But despite this the two have inevitably sought each other's friendship. This anomaly has added to the already uneven ties between a superpower and a medium size Third World country.

The 'new relationship' between the two has emerged as a result of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Since then there has been a regular flow of official visitors. The last to visit this part have been the U.S. Air Chief General Gabriel and Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger.

The Defence Secretary's visit had invoked considerable interest here. He was the first U.S. Defence Secretary to visit Pakistan. What gave added importance to his visit was that he came here after a thorough exchange of views with the Chinese leaders at Beijing. Since there appeared to be a significant breakthrough in Sino-U.S. relations as a result of these parleys there are likely to be implications in the region. Any thaw in Sino-U.S. ties should be a source of satisfaction for Pakistan. But what we now need is to be watchful to any Indo-Soviet response to this development.

Coming back to Mr. Weinberger's visit we found him here at a time when things were a bit too difficult for us at home and on the border. Sind was witnessing protests on the call of MRD and on the border tension was high as a result of air space violations by the Afghan MiGs.

Under the circumstances there was certainly much to talk about and discuss between friends. Mr. Weinberger described his parleys with Gen. Zia and Defence Minister Talpur as 'useful.' He assured us that the U.S. would honour its commitments under the 3.2 billion dollars package deal. We hope that it would do so. But what we need badly is that our friend should take unambiguous positions on issues which are vital to our existence.

The U.S. Defence Secretary parried questions on the MRD movement, saying that it was our internal matter. We wish he had given the same advice to Mrs. Indira Gandhi who during the last few days has more than once interfered in our internal affairs. But alas the White House has remained silent on this. In 1971 when India was tearing us apart, Mr. Nixon's concern for us was described as a 'tilt' towards Pakistan. We had not anticipated nor wished for any 'tilt' in 1971. Neither do we expect any special treatment now. What we seek from our friend is that it will stand by justice; that it will speak against interference.

At no stage, Pakistan's security problem has been resolved. At times we had made fatal efforts in our anxiety to make our environment a bit safe around us. In the 60s this quest led us to give bases to the U.S. and in the bargain we very nearly 'had it.' We are still haunted by that experience.

Over the years our security problem has deteriorated. We have been reduced in size. Moscow and Delhi have moved on ruthlessly to fulfil their long-term objectives. Their each move has made things difficult for us. What did not prove a way out yesterday is not a solution even today. Pact or treaties have not helped us the least in the past, nor they would do so in future. We are now living in the 80s and not in the 60s and this has made all the difference.

Similarly the rapid deployment force, as Gen. Zia has said, is no answer to the problem. Still more important is the question that in what circumstances and in which situation this force will be deployed. In our case would it come to our help if we are attacked by India. If it is here to only fight the Red Army, it would go home without firing a single bullet. Moscow has other methods to promote its designs. Invasion by proxy is too common a feature these days. And if the force objective is to check the upsurge of a particular tendency in the area, this is a proposition no country of the region will welcome.

**MRD-Govt. Confrontation:** The MRD-Government confrontation has gone on unabated. Neither any effort to bring about reconciliation between the two parties appears to be making any headway. The JUP which at one stage seemed to be good enough to deliver, is now threatened with a split. Moulana Noorani and his Secretary-General, Abdul Sattar Niazi, are toeing different lines. This has further widened the political cleavages within the country. There have been fresh talks to form a rightist alliance between the JUI (Darkhawasti Group), Jamaat-e-Islami and JUP (which may soon be called Abdul Sattar Niazi Group). Earlier Moulana Noorani has dismissed the idea of a rightist alliance, saying this would lead to civil war.

This development has also somewhat dismissed the prospects of dialogue. The rift in JUP has taken the wind out of Moulana Noorani's initiative. Since then he is not as optimistic as he was when he floated the move for dialogue.

What we need is to determine the issue of contention and find solution. Any other approach will only make matters worse for us. This was certainly no time for Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari, who heads the Constitution Commission, to propagate a new political doctrine. This will further confound the confused situation. If Islam does not believe in parties (as Mr. Ansari says) then why there are religious-cum political parties in the country. Jamaat-e-Islami, the JUI and JUP, all fall under this category. Scholars like Maulana Moudoodi and Mufti Mehmood certainly had as good a knowledge of Islam as Maulana Ansari does. Similar is the case with Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani.

The kind of civilian government which Maulana Ansari envisages will have no popular base to support it. It is always the political parties which give strength and credibility to civilian governments. A civilian government without popular support behind it will always depend for its survival on the establishment. Again elections without political parties will hardly be elections. This will only set in a process of selection. Political process cannot be divorced from political parties. We have already paid enough price for side-tracking this reality.

CSO: 4600/63

INDIAN OPPOSITION LEADER TALKS ABOUT INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Nusrat Javeed: "India Out of Step With Its Neighbours"]

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 15--Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, an Indian scholar who sits on the opposition benches of the Indian Parliament, has said the main hurdle in evolving a South Asian Security Doctrine by the countries of the region themselves is the fact that India is out of step with its neighbours regarding the foreign policy positions. In this regard, he cited the differences between India's and its neighbours' stand on the problems of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. He was addressing a large gathering of government officials, professors, diplomats and researchers at the Institute of Strategic Studies here on the subject of South Asian Security Concerns. Abdus Sattar, Pakistan's former Ambassador to India, presided and conducted the discussion which followed.

Dr. Swamy said there were important events which should compel us to think anew. "In 1979," he said, "China had a war with Vietnam--a country which had a treaty with the USSR--but, the USSR didn't intervene to help Vietnam." Soviet Union entered Afghanistan in Dec. and the USA did nothing practical to stop it. After this, he added, another independent country, Lebanon, was invaded by Israel and the USSR kept quiet.

He revealed that the former Prime Minister of Israel during a meeting had told him that Israel before launching the full-fledged invasion had communicated with both the USSR and Syria and assured them that the sole purpose of Israeli invasion was to weaken the PLO positions and that Israel will not cross the Syrian territory.

These events, he continued, should establish the fact that the Super-powers have their own priorities and just having treaties with them didn't solve the security problems.

Another latest development, Mr. Swamy said, was the improvement in the Sino-Soviet relations. He agreed with the opinion that these developments have their limits and that the prime motive of China's going for some improvement is the U.S. government's stances regarding Taiwan and the impression prevailing amongst the Chinese that they have been taken for

granted. He, however, insisted that in spite of its limitations the recent development has its relevance for the countries of the region.

Briefing about the perspective, Dr. Swamy cited two factors which according to him should lead to the emergence of the South Asian Security Doctrine.

The first factor, according to him, was the internal problems of the countries of the region which have the potential to pave the way for the external or Super-powers intervention. In this respect he referred to the problems of Sri Lanka, Assam, Punjab and developments in the Sind province of Pakistan.

The second factor for him was the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. "Whatever Indira may say," he said, "there is a general impression in India that after this development, Pakistan is the buffer and Front State for India and that the security of India does not lie in the weakening of Pakistan."

Dr. Swamy cited another factor which he believed was congenial for the evolution of the security doctrine. He disagreed with the contentions that India was a client state of the USSR or vice versa Pakistan vis-a-vis USA. He disclosed that even the Indian government tells him in private that there are no military bases of the USA in Pakistan and that Pakistan has shown tremendous independence while cultivating its new relations with the USA.

These three factors, Dr. Swamy believed, should lead to the evolution. "But," he added, "the difficulty is that India is out of step with its neighbours." He said India is isolated with the neighbours on important international issues like Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

Regarding Pak-Indian problems, he said, the difficulties arise when India prepares itself militarily while keeping in mind the capability of Pakistan but demands that Pakistan while preparing itself in the Indian capability perspective should remain content with the 'Indian intention.' Another thing, according to him, is the unnecessarily obscurantist attitude of the present Indian government on petty issues. In this respect, he cited the negative attitude of the Congress government's attitude towards Pakistan's entry into the Commonwealth.

The third thing blocking the evolution of the security doctrine, Dr. Swamy said, was the delay in the signing of the no-war pact. Concluding his opening remarks, he said, that we have a series of problems which could be exploited by the USSR which is present in Afghanistan.

An hour-long question-answer session followed his opening remarks. To various questions, he said, he does not think that the South Asian Security Doctrine envisages something like NATO. What he wants from this doctrine is the denial of opportunity to the Super-powers to exploit the internal problems of the region.

Sajjad Haider, our former Ambassador to India and the USSR said that Indians in spite of all the concessions from Pakistan never responded in good-neighbourly manner adding that India wants hegemony in the area and at present they want us to change our position regarding Afghanistan.

To him, Dr. Swamy said that it is wrong to assume that every Indian thinks like that. He claimed that during the two and a half years of the Janata government there was a definite change in style and approach. And that government, he added, was duly elected.

To Dr. Hussain Malik, an economist, Dr. Swamy said that at present he does not see any improvement between the bilateral trade of the two countries. As Pakistan is genuinely concerned in securing some of its basic industries, time is not ripe to talk about some 'take off' as a result of mutual co-operation.

To another questioner, Dr. Swamy expressed his disagreement over the contention that the main reason for the economic backwardness of both the countries was the spendings on the defence. He said that even 10 per cent of the GNP if spent on the defence could be accommodated while at present India is spending 3.5 per cent and Pakistan 7, of its GNP.

One questioner wanted to know that by demanding de-militarisation of the Indian Ocean, is not India waiting for a void to be filled in by its own navy? "This is a tough question," he admitted and said that Indira Gandhi's foreign policy is based on adhocism. India's long-term interests demand, he continued, that by settling its problems with its north, it should concentrate on its south. While doing this, he said India could have as much control over the sea lanes as Egypt has through its Suez Canal.

Regarding his visits to Israel, Dr. Swamy repeated his contention that India and Israel maintain regular contacts in military and economic matters.

A young researcher, Ali Tauqir, asked about the crisis management mechanism regarding the South Asian problems and India's nuclear programme. People are coming to realise in India, he said, that having atomic weapons will not ensure security in the region. Pakistan's nuclear explosion, however, will create problems, he added. He opined that South Asian Regional Conference could be the crisis management forum.

Regarding Afghanistan, he asserted, his party stands for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet troops. Tariq Usman Haider drew Dr. Swamy's attention towards the statements of Chandar Shekar reproduced in Pakistan's Press. Dr. Swamy said that Shekar was usually misquoted in the Press. His party's National Executive Council's resolution is clear regarding Janata's will of establishing good-neighbourly relations with Pakistan.

A housewife Mrs. Yousaf asked why the Janata Government didn't repudiate the treaties with USSR. Dr. Swamy answered that we don't want hostility with the USSR and that his party was only against the tilt. He however,

referred to the various joint communiques issued by the USSR and India during the Desai government and said that these treaties were not mentioned in them.

Concluding the discussion, Abdus Sattar made it clear that people in Pakistan and the government want to have friendly mutually beneficial relations with India and that which party should be in power in India is an exclusively internal issue of India.

CSO: 4600/64

MIAN TUFAIL MOHAMMAD DISCUSSES DOMESTIC POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Lahore CHATAN in Urdu 13-19 Sep 83 pp 11, 18

/Interview with Jamaat-e Islami leader Mian Tufail Mohammad by Tahir Maqsud Butt: "By the Will of God, Jamaat-e Islami Alone Will Dominate Pakistan!"; date and place not specified/

/Excerpts/ /Question/ How important is democracy for this country?

/Answer/ So far, this country has not been exposed to democracy, although its foundations were laid. The existence of democracy is all the more important here, because this is an Islamic country. Democracy, in this country, has always existed in name only, an expression of cheating and deception. Cheating on democracy first began at the hands of Liaquat Ali Khan on the occasion of Pakistan's first elections in 1951, when he personally came to Lahore and, while participating in a meeting of DIGs /Deputy Inspector General of Police/ from all of Pakistan, gave them special instructions for the success of the Muslim League. These very undemocratic tactics of the politicians provided an opportunity for the bureaucrats to overpower the government. You can imagine the disorder from the fact that Daylana, who was the prime minister of Punjab, used to call the inspector general of police of Punjab, Mr Qurban Ali, his uncle.

/Question/ How has the suspension of democracy hurt the country?

/Answer/ The country has been torn apart due to the lack of democracy. For this very reason, East Pakistan became separated from us. Presently, the situations confronting us in Sind, to a great extent, are also the result of the suspension of democracy.

/Question/ What is the underlying factor in the current situation in Sind?

/Answer/ There are leaders in our country, landlords and wealthy people, who have formed their own small, independent states. These influential people have a hold over the public. They have no interest in either democracy or Islam. That is why, whenever there is a march toward the path of democracy or Islam, these people create a climate of crisis. This is the basis of the current situation in Sind!

You can judge the intentions of these people from the fact that apparently they do talk about the restoration of the 1973 constitution and the holding of elections, but well in advance of the president's announcement of the political structure they announced the establishment of a movement for civil disobedience. In other words, they are not interested in the restoration of democracy but riots. If these people were really well-intentioned and sincere about democracy, they would have waited for the president's announcement, and after that, they would have either criticized it or outlined a modus operandi for themselves. Actually, these people do not want the country to move toward democracy. They love dictatorship. That is why they dream of dominating the country by defeating the military group in power with the aid of internal and external agents, so that they can act according to their own wishes, as they did during the Bhutto era.

/Question/ In your opinion, how is it possible to remedy this situation?

/Answer/ There is room for improvement in the current situation if the government accelerates its efforts for the restoration of democratic power in the country. In this regard, the basic defects in the political system announced on 12 August should be eliminated. The ambiguous aspects of this announcement should be clarified, and under the principle of proportional representation, elections should be held by next March. As for the political system, we have already issued our detailed stand in the form of a resolution to the press.

/Question/ How do you view India's intervention in the Sind problem?

/Answer/ India's intentions in this regard are very clear. By creating a situation like Bangladesh in Sind, it wishes to make Punjab and the Frontier Province a prison for the Pakistani people.

/Question/ According to the new political system announced by the president on 12 August, there is provision for a few amendments to the 1973 constitution. What procedures will the president have to adopt to make those amendments effective and acceptable?

/Answer/ In response to this political system, we proposed a procedure for those amendments in the resolution we issued as our reaction. The thing is that if the president himself determines the powers of the president and the prime minister, naturally it will be impossible to create a balance between them. If any newly elected prime minister performs this task, he, too, will accumulate more powers for himself and the dream of balance will remain unfulfilled. In our opinion, therefore, the distribution of the powers of the president and the prime minister should be settled through consultations by the leaders of various political parties. In this way, not only will there be a balance between the powers of the president and the prime minister but the new changes in this regard will also gain a seal of approval.

Second, the proposal made in the new political system for the national security council says nothing clearly about its form of planning, aims and objectives and powers and functional dimensions. As long as these points are not clarified, how can we express our position on this proposal?

Question What are your relations with the government?

Answer We have the same relations with the government as you have or any other political party has.

Question But the incidents that have taken place so far prove that whenever the current regime is faced with a crisis, the president has a special meeting with you.

Answer There is no reason for this except that we do not believe in stubbornness and obstinacy. Unlike others, we do not resort to confrontation. The president calls everyone, but usually the others start using abusive language and at times even refuse to meet with him. Actually, the president has shown more favoritism toward the others than to us. They have even been granted ministerial posts. In this respect, those people should have special relations with the government. People like Jatoi, Pagara, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Nurani regularly have dinner with the president. Whenever we meet with him, we have a discussion over just a cup of tea.

Question Professor Chafoor's remarks about the restoration of democracy appear to be the statements of one of the leaders of the MRD, whereas your statements display moderation. What is the stand taken by the Jamaat-e Islami in this regard?

Answer The Jamaat's stand in this regard is similar. The ferocity and sharpness that appear in the statements of Professor Chafoor are in fact the result of the atmosphere in Karachi.

Question Taking advantage of the president's confidence that you enjoy due to your moderate attitude, would you like to smooth the path of mutual understanding between the government and the politicians?

Answer I personally feel that I am not in a position to play this role, because certain circles harbor so much enmity toward Jamaat-e Islami that if they hear us recite the Kalma (the Muslim confession of faith), they would probably disapprove of it as well. It would be preferable, therefore, to appoint someone else for this purpose.

Question The president has always declared the postponement of elections as the "request" of certain politicians. Could you please tell us who is among these "certain politicians?"

Answer The president alone can tell who the people are who give him this advice. Nevertheless, these people are not all that hidden. When the first announcement about the elections was made, Wali Khan demanded that there be an evaluation prior to the elections. It so happened that there was neither an evaluation nor elections. In 1979, when an announcement about holding elections was again made, Mufti Mahmud, Nawabzada, Pir Sahib and other people raised a dispute over registration. When this task was accomplished, these people took the position that the time left for the preparation of elections was insufficient. The government felt that if the largest party in the country, the PNA /Pakistani

National Alliance<sup>7</sup>, did not participate in the elections, there was no need to hold elections. Therefore, responsibility for the postponement of elections up to the present day rests jointly with Ziaul Haq and the politicians.

Question/ The Jamaat-e Islami talks about the unity of the rightist political parties. Could you provide details concerning this proposed unity?

Answer/ You might recollect that in February 1982, we made an agreement called Misaaq Milli in which in view of the current situation in the country it was strongly emphasized that the unity of the political parties that share similar thinking and belief in the ideology of Pakistan and Islam as the basis of public life was imperative if there was to be a way out of the dark well into which we had fallen. The basis of this unity was at once declared in a seven-point proposal. A protest, in this regard, was suggested to the government--that it not create further entanglements and hand over power to elected representatives by holding elections in 1982. Unfortunately, no one paid any attention to our proposal. Exactly 1 year after that, we presented another proposal, more or less along similar lines, as the basis for elections. We have also proposed to the people concerned that if they wish to present any better proposal or feel it necessary to make some alterations in it, we are fully prepared to accept that. However, one thing is clear--without such unity it is almost impossible to escape the current crisis.

Question/ Will leadership of the proposed unity be in the hands of Jamaat-e Islami?

Answer/ We have never involved ourselves in a conflict over leadership. Nor do we have any interest in the leadership or consider it essential. When PNA was being formed, Asghar Khan was preparing to lead it. On the other hand, Pir Sahib was more desirous for this leadership. The only error we made was that we proposed Asghar Khan's name for the leadership. Since that day, Pir Sahib has been full of anger against us and from time to time he indulges his anger by abusing us.

Question/ You have proposed this unity. If the leadership passes into the hands of some other person, it is feared that his perspective will not stay in the direction which you have determined in your mind.

Answer/ The issue of leadership is something that can be discussed later. For the time being, it is not even clear whether this proposal will succeed or not. You are aware, however, of the statements made by Nurani and Pir Sahib in this regard.

Question/ How much truth is there in certain people's remarks that this proposed unity is being formulated at the suggestion of the government for the purpose of defeating the MRD?

Answer/ We offer our prayers, because the MRD was badly defeated, and this is the demand of our faith. Now you tell me, did we establish Pakistan for the purpose of having incidents of violence here? The path followed by the MRD does not lead to democracy but dictatorship. These people wish to end martial law by

destroying the railway lines, setting fires and committing crimes. They do not realize that such incidents of violence will give the army an opportunity to prolong its control over them.

/Question/ In certain circumstances, doesn't violence become the need of the time? This weapon also had to be utilized regarding the Nizam-e Mustafa movement.

/Answer/ This movement operated peacefully for months. When the FSF /Federal Security Forces/ and the People's Party tried to suppress it with violence, the movement did not respond with violence. Instead, the PNA, as a protest, adopted the path of leading a long march. Can there by any more peaceful protest than this? Besides, there was firing on unarmed people at various meetings. Many ministers of the People's Party and the governor of Punjab fired with their own hands. However, the situation here is that up to the present day, the government has not even filed a case in the murder of the police officers at Moru.

/Question/ Isn't this act of the government against the law?

/Answer/ We declare it an act of cowardice. If a strict watch had been kept over the crime and punishment, the situation today would have been different. During the 6 years of the current regime, big, big corruptions have been revealed, but not a single criminal has been duly punished. The people do not believe that there are sincere people in the current regime.

/Question/ It is said that Bhutto was a great expert in foreign policy. After him, has there been any change in Pakistan's international status?

/Answer/ During Bhutto's era, Pakistan's foreign policy did not achieve even a tenth of the success it enjoys at present. Pakistan clashed with a superpower on the Afghan issue, regarding which Pakistan's role has been highly appreciated. Pakistan, with regard to its stand, has exhibited not a bit of weakness, nor did it recognize any threats. The interesting thing is that it did not even allow its relations with the Soviet Union to deteriorate.

/Question/ It is said that if Bhutto were there, the issue of Afghanistan would not have existed.

/Answer/ This is the perception of the foolish. The truth is that this seed was sown by his own hands. The current regime is just trying to live with it.

/Question/ Some people say that as long as the Afghanistan issue exists, relations between the Jamaat-e Islami and the current regime will not become bitter.

/Answer/ It would have been better if those people were asked about the justification of this view also. However, the fact is that we are fully satisfied with the government's stand on the Afghanistan issue. Whenever we had doubts that the government was exhibiting weakness in this matter, it was instantly reminded of its shortcoming. On the occasion of the Geneva talks, once or twice the news gave the impression that the government was displaying some leniency in its stand. We immediately protested. As a result, a quick clarification on that matter was given by the government.

Question/ Are you not assisting the government in its aid to the Afghan refugees?

Answer/ It is our duty to give refuge to the Afghan refugees. In this respect, therefore, we are not assisting the government but fulfilling our obligation.

Whenever the times have been difficult, the Jamaat-e Islami [JI] has always participated in aid-giving activities with full zeal. During all the floods and earthquakes in Pakistan, the Jamaat-e Islami has been in the forefront, providing assistance. The JI did years of work during the Kashmir war. It participated in the rehabilitation of the Kashmir refugees. During the 1965 war, members of the JI were present in the frontline trenches. Almost 700 JI youths were martyred in East Pakistan. Now that we are faced with the problem of the Afghan refugees, we are fulfilling our traditional obligations. Whether the government does or does not pay any attention to this matter, that is its problem.

Question/ Despite being an exemplary political organization, why has the JI so far been unable to gain access to the seats of power?

Answer/ The fact is that so far power has not been our objective. We have never regarded power as our goal, because we do not have a lust for it. We still have much work to accomplish.

Question/ Power, for dutiful parties, is not a means of satisfying a lust; rather, it has the status of a vital national responsibility, the fulfilling of which is a primary obligation.

Answer/ We are continuing our march on this path, but with a speed that befits a party like ours, because we are also at the same time fulfilling the basic responsibility of building character and morals. We are marching forward resolutely at the speed at which we should proceed. Bearing this in mind, JI, God willing, will dominate the country. This process, however, will take time. We are not in a hurry. That is why we are never nervous. Unlike Pir Sahib, we do not need to issue daily statements. Our method is that we gradually increase the number of people who share our viewpoint. We are grateful to God for granting us splendid success in this endeavor. We now have people in every walk of life who share our viewpoint. There was a time when we had not adherents in an important field like journalism. The journalists were so disgusted with us that they always demanded that restrictions be imposed on JI. But the situation now has changed. We now have our well-wishers in this sector too, who not only help us to carry our voice to others but also utter a good word in our favor. Our position in the government offices was that if any handbill of the JI was seen with any public servant, he was immediately fired. The clerks in the secretariat of Chaudhri Rehmat Ali and Liaqat Ali Khan were fired because of their association with the Jamaat. More or less similar thing happened with Ahsanul Haq Sahib. The situation now has changed completely. Today, there is not a single government office where no one shares our views. All this is due to our steady pace, sincerely and good intentions.

/Question/ Do you realize that despite all its organizational capabilities, the JI has been unable to acquire a public status?

/Answer/ We are not in favor of making our party a people's group. We feel that we have to stay for a considerable time in opposition. Even if we do gain power, the society is so spoiled and the government machinery has become so corrupt that even in 20 to 25 years we would be unable to produce any great results. The business of bribery and corruption is profiting so much that the religious institutions also are affected by it. In the present circumstances, even if we held the reins of government our situation would be similar to that of Ziaul Haq. In our society, people take credit for all past positive happenings, whereas the government is blamed for every defect and weakness. We wish to continue performing the role of reforming the society until there is a majority of decent people who according to their temperament would send good people to the assemblies. We are awaiting this time before we occupy the seats of power. Such times will not come soon. The Holy Koran bears witness to the fact that even after 950 years of preaching, the Prophet Noah just got the passengers in the boat. What I mean to say is that at certain times, nations do face considerable deterioration.

/Question/ It is said that the strength of the JI depends mostly on the Jamiat-e-Tulaba /JT/.

/Answer/ All organizations sharing the JI's viewpoint are our strength. The JT is an organization of youth who share our viewpoints. Similarly, there are organizations sharing our viewpoints in every walk of life, like the laborers, farmers and lawyers. That is to say, in every walk of life we have organizations that share our views; and they are our strength. Whenever we need them, they instantly come forward to our assistance. Here, however, I should make one thing clear--all of these organizations have their own personal status. They are not a part of the JI, nor do they have any organizational or party relations with the Jamaat. They work independently. They have their own constitutions and they operate according to their own wishes. Their cooperation with us is limited to ideology alone. The JT wishes that along with the enforcement of an Islamic system in the country, the same system should also be introduced in the department of education. This is a body of students who regard morals and character above all other things.

/Question/ The present regime has issued a plan to impose restrictions on the unions of students. What is your stand in this regard?

/Answer/ If restrictions are imposed on the student unions, it is feared that universities throughout the country will turn into Sind University. The hostels of Sind University have become the abodes of robbers and murderers. Criminals seek refuge there. The situation has worsened so much that Pakistan's flag cannot be flown there. If you wish to see similar things happening in Punjab University, you are welcome to impose restrictions on the student unions. If restrictions are imposed on people who behaving legally, undesirable elements naturally become active. Underground activities catch on. So, taking such measures, if we pollute the department of education so much, how will we be able to find individuals with capabilities for positive thinking for the Pakistan

of tomorrow? In my opinion, this step is nothing but a confrontation with Pakistan. The situation we are faced with in Sind is also the result of such measures. A restriction is imposed on the political parties there. If the lips of the law-abiding elements are sealed, the lawbreakers get an opportunity to exhibit themselves. The governor Sahib has said that these elements will not be permitted to do what they want, as if their previous activities were carried out with his permission.

Question/ Isn't the JT active in improving the serious conditions that exist at Sind University?

Answer/ None of the members of the JT can enter this university. If someone does go there mistakenly, I feel strongly that he will be made a target of attack.

Question/ Isn't the allegation that violence is destroying the educational atmosphere levied at the Jamiat as well?

Answer/ They are not the ones who resort to violence; they are the victims of it. You tell me whether the students murdered at Faisal Abad University were associated with the Jamiat or its adversaries. In other places as well, these youths have always suffered loss of life and property. The only problem is that their opponents overpower the press. The other sources of communication and information are also under their control. That is why the truth does not reach the people. Instead, what reaches them is whatever those opponents want to reach them. Under such circumstances, how can it be known who is the oppressor and who is the oppressed?

Question/ That is to say that the student organizations are the assassins of the students and their educational future?

Answer/ The student organizations are not the ones to blame; blame should fall on those in authority who do not meet the demands of neutrality and justice and consequently fail to maintain law and order. Presently, there is much more corruption in the department of education than there is in the police and customs departments. Jamiat youths in the Taksala Engineering College, for the entire year, personally went to the deputy commissioner, the commissioner and the submartial law administrator concerned and furnished them with the information that the communist elements kept stenguns, rifles and knives, etc. in their rooms, with which they committed crimes in the cinemas and elsewhere. They tore people's stomachs apart and blocked the roads. The administration paid no attention to this information. After that, these people attacked the youths of the JT, following which the Tulaba retaliated and seized all the weapons from their rooms. Then, the army told the students to hand over the weapons to them. They never took any measures when they were told about it but went instantly to take custody of the weapons. A somewhat similar incident took place at the University of Agriculture also. There bullets were fired at two JT youths in the hostel; but the police filed a case against these youths. I feel strongly that the administration alone is responsible for these incidents. If it faces this situation honestly, the atmosphere can be corrected. The question is, if the JT is responsible for violence in the universities, why did such incidents of violence not take place before Bhutto's era? The truth is

that the communist elements became active during Bhutto's era, and this is the very reason for the lack of law and order in the factories and the universities.

/Question/ It is for this very reason that the government says that if there are no unions, the disruptive elements will not use them to achieve their ends.

/Answer/ This type of situation will not develop if the unions perform their duties by working within their circles and toward their specific goals. The aim of the student unions is only to provide training at university and college levels for running the country along democratic lines. In this way, they develop self-confidence and acquire training in managing administrative tasks, dealing with people and addressing meetings. The aim of the unions is not for the students to participate in practical politics. This calamity in the department of education was brought by Bhutto and Mujib. The People's Party and the Awami League initiated this condition because both had similar methods of operating and both were called by the same name. You can call one of them in English and call the other, with similar meaning, in Urdu.

/Question/ But the members of the JT also make rash criticisms of the country's politics. Doesn't this come under the category of being involved in practical politics?

/Answer/ They give statements because they possess the highest degree of political ability. If you wish to seal their lips to restrain them from making statements about the country's politics, go ahead. Delete subjects like political science and journalism from the university curriculum, because they, too, are a part of the practical politics. But why are you asking me about all these things, when I have already said that the only connection the JI has with the JT is that it is a party that shares our viewpoints?

9779  
CSO: 4656/08

MRD MOVEMENT IN PUNJAB EXAMINED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Oct 83 p 6

[Article: "The Clash of the 'Bradris'"]

[Text] The MRD civil disobedience campaign continues in Lahore, and political workers are continuing to court arrest. The government is continuing to detain people. There are signs that the MRD campaign may gather momentum because lawyers throughout the Punjab have decided to take an active part in the movement. An action committee has already been formed for this purpose.

The lawyers' decisions have already been endorsed by various student, labour and women's organisations in the Punjab. This will make the MRD campaign broader-based in the districts than it has been hitherto and put greater pressure on the government. Among those likely to join are hundreds of candidates who lost the recent local elections together with those who are refusing to accept the election results. These elements are accusing the winning candidates of having had official patronage and of having committed myriad irregularities. Most of the defeated candidates are now seen at places where political leaders and workers court arrest.

Meanwhile, a group of lawyers is seriously considering the possibility of initiating legal action against the government, while at the same time taking an active part in the current MRD campaign. Among such contemplated legal actions is the institution of a fresh writ against the government in the Supreme Court. A final decision in this matter will be taken this month.

On the other hand, there is no indication that the government is likely to modify its stand to the extent required to bring the MRD campaign to an end. Many political workers were released before Eidul Azha and the government attempted to create the impression that it wanted to reduce the extent of confrontation. Most of those released however, belonged to the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal and other right wing parties, and the number of People's Party workers was nominal. This gave rise to the speculation that the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal might be among the parties the government wanted to hold talks with. Local Tehrik sources discount this, however, and maintain that those released will court arrest once again this month. Tehrik leader Aitzaz Ahsan says that his party will broaden the scope of its participation in

the current campaign. He rejected the idea that the Tehrik might hold talks with the government outside of the MRD orbit.

In the meantime, efforts have been intensified to forge a right-wing alliances and there has been a formal understanding between the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan, the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam (Darkhwasti Group) and the Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith. Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi has been conferring with leaders of the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami and the Muslim League. There is every likelihood that an alliance of parties outside the MRD may soon be announced. Regional political groups like that led by Mr. Nabi Bakhsh Zohri may also join hands with such an alliance under official patronage.

These parties have advised the government to order elections in March 1984. Some political circles are claiming that an agreement in principle has been reached between President Ziaul Haq and Mian Tufail Mohammad that the electoral process should be completed by March 1984 rather than in 18 months, as was announced on August 12. The simultaneous request to the president in this regard by the four provincial Jamaat Chiefs was a mere formality. The government has directed the Election Commission to be ready to hold the polls at a moment's notice.

Circles close to the MRD think that all such feelers about bringing the election date forward are being thrown by the government in order to gain time. They feel that unless the 1973 constitution is restored no talks can be held with the government. Under the circumstances, then, it appears that the gulf between the government and the politicians is widening, and the process of talks between right-wing leaders and the government may not resolve the crisis.

#### L.B. Polls

Local Bodies elections have been completed in the Punjab. The mayor and District Council Chairman will now be elected in November, and aspirants to these offices have already started canvassing. Most of the successful candidates resorted to appealing to the 'bradri' (clannish) sentiments of the voters but neither of the two major 'bradris' the Kashmiris and the Arains, has been able to secure a lead to claim the mayorship.

Leaders of the Kashmiri 'bradri,' especially Sheikh Mohammad Asghar and the Provincial Finance Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif, have in a secret meeting considered ways of unseating the incumbent mayor, Mian Shujaur Rehman. However, the Kashmiris do not have the necessary strength in the house-elect to secure the mayorship. The same holds true of the Arains. On this issue, there are also differences between Mian Shujaur Rehman and the leader of the present house, Mian Meraj Din. According to some reports, the latter wants some office in the new corporation with the help of the Kashmiri 'bradri.'

It appears that the Jamaat councillors may tilt the balance in the mayorship contest. The Jamaat claims strength of 18 in the new house, and these gentlemen may be the king-makers. However, Mian Mohammad Usman and Mian

Mohammad Munir of the Tehrik-i-Islami are themselves contenders for the mayor's and deputy mayor's offices. Both belong to the Arain 'bradri.' In a meeting of this group on Oct. 4, it named itself Ahbab Group. It is being led by the former President of the Islami Jamiat-i-Talaba Mr. Liaquat Baloch.

In the Kashmiri ranks are two sons of Sheikh Mohammad Asghar, Rohail and Sheikh. As a student, Rohail was associated with the Islami Jamiat. There are chances, therefore, the Kashmiri 'bradri' may bargain and reach an understanding with the Ahbab Group.

For the chairpersonship of the District Council, Afsar Qizilbash, daughter of the prominent Shia leader, the late Nawab Qizilbash, is a candidate. She has so many supporters that political observers feel she may easily succeed after a nominal contest and thus become the head of the District Council.

#### Disrupted Transportation

Inter-provincial traffic has been badly disrupted by the current MRD campaign in Sind. Truck drivers are now reluctant to undertake the Peshawar-Lahore-Karachi route. This has put extra pressure on the railway, which has failed to cope with the situation. Moreover, hundreds of bogies are deployed in transporting food to Iran. Those that are left, have been sidelined. Engine shortage aggravates situation further. All this has adversely affected upcountry markets, especially in Lahore, and traders and Chamber of Commerce leaders are thinking of calling on responsible federal officials, ministers and even the president.

Meanwhile, the power shortage forecast for this winter is becoming evident. Load shedding has already started, and Gulberg's Liberty Market has been among the first victims. Traders there have already been asked to close down at 7.30 instead of 8.30.

This is just the beginning. As winter really sets in, the whole of the Punjab may be affected. By November, even the gas supply could be reduced, and industries running on gas will be among the worst sufferers. This may spread current discontent to trading and industrial circles, thus compounding the problems. Needless to say, a fall in production will be followed by an increase in prices. Already the reduction in inter-provincial trade has affected the Landa Bazar, the market of imported second-hand clothing, and the poor Lahorite may find cheap warm clothing difficult to come by this winter.--N.B.

CSO: 4600/64

TALKS WITH POLITICLANS WELCOMED AS 'FIRST STEP' TOWARD RECONCILIATION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Oct 83 p 4

[Article in the "Spectrum" column by Khalid Akhtar: "Taking the First Step"]

[Text] With the JUP-Government parleys held last week the process of dialogue has been set in motion. No breakthrough, no sensational results were expected of these talks. Their significance lies in reestablishing two vital realities: that dialogue is the only way to resolve a political crisis; and secondly all talks of democratisation minus political parties are merely an illusion.

Where do we go from here. We may untie the political tangle or complicate it still further. And certainly we do not have many factors in our favour. Political deprivation is running high, ideological conflict between various groups has deepened and we stand more divided today than at any stage before. It is not easy to remove irritants from our political fabric and return to democratic rule. It will require lot of 'give and take' and accommodation on our part to put ourselves on the railings again.

The first phase of dialogue, as it appears, will remain confined to listening to each other's viewpoint. The JUP-Government parleys also did not go beyond this limit. There was no arguing a particular political proposal; no accepting or rejecting a particular political notion. So the two left the 'negotiating table' with the hope of meeting again for a more threadbare discussion. The government has also indicated its willingness to hold similar discussions with NDP, PDP, Tehrik-e-Istiqlal and moderates in PPP. Significantly the government has excluded the PNP and PPP leadership from the gamut of dialogue with the political parties. And there cannot be two opinions that both these parties, whether we like it or not, remain some of the most powerful forces in our nation's polity. Even Gen. Chishti, who till recently was an important instrument of the present government machinery, holds the opinion that if polls are held today the PPP would be the clear victor. Similarly the PNP dominates in Baluchistan, our most 'sensitive' area.

Unfortunately, we have more than once been guilty of an apolitical approach in dealing with political issues. If outlawing PPP (as is suggested by

some) was any solution we would have a remedy in hands by now. During the last six years, the PPP has remained a non-recognizable entity by the government. But this has not eliminated the party. On the contrary it has not only survived but gained in strength in some ways. Attempts to keep this party out of national politics can have serious repercussions for the country. Sind situation is a good example how one-sided solutions can rock the very foundation of the country.

Maulana Noorani is clear in his mind that in any arrangement the MRD cannot be left out. This is a view sharply contested by the Jamaat-e-Islami. Pir Pagara in his individual capacity also thinks on similar lines. And there may be many in government machinery whose views may approximate that of the Jamaat and Pir Pagara. It will be interesting to see what stand the Jamaat and Pagara League will take in dialogue with the government. Elections do not guarantee them success. But the situation could become different for them if PPP was barred from polls. All this indicates a close proximity of views between these parties and the government in the long and complex negotiations in the days ahead.

Now as the process of dialogue has started, the question naturally arises, what changes the government would be willing to accept in its August 12 programme. It will be hard bargaining; nothing will be surrendered easily and nothing will be won without a battle. At the moment the government appears to be willing to concede two points. In the first place, it has shown its willingness to hold polls six months or even earlier than announced under the Aug. 12 programme. Secondly, by holding dialogue with the political parties it has accepted their role (a marked departure from previous statements that democracy was possible without political parties), and thus tacitly agreeing to the advisability of holding polls on party basis. It may not be far-fetched to say that the President may announce this early next month, the time set for government's response to the demands made by the JUP in the first round of the dialogue.

It appears that finally the government may revert to the November 1979 election programme wherein only registered political parties were to be allowed to contest polls. Now amongst the major components of MRD, only Tehrik had got itself registered. But much has happened since November 1979. Since then, Asghar Khan has remained in detention. What the long captivity has done to him is not known. He may emerge as a man with different ideas and different solutions in his mind. Finally he is now in the MRD. All this now makes him a doubtful participant in polls if held under the old arrangement. And lastly what was not a solution six years ago, cannot be a solution now. But there is no denying the fact that November 1979 programme would be a proposition acceptable to certain parties including the Jamaat and Pagara league.

Now the all-important question is that would the dialogue without the MRD's participation prove meaningful. Here one thing must be kept in mind. The polls are very important and they would certainly remain on top of the agenda in any parleys between the government and the opposition. But still more important is the issue of amendments in the Constitution. With goodwill

on both sides, the election schedule could easily be brought forward or even pushed back if there are compelling reasons to do that. But that is not the case with constitutional amendments. Already, as if in response to government's action to amend the Constitution, there has been a parallel move from some of the politicians to give only four subjects--Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency and Communications--to the Centre. Secondly, constitutional amendments cannot be carried out only after consultation with 'like-minded parties.' In any such move, every shade of opinion has to be taken care of and the failure to do so could prove dangerous to the country. This makes the MRD's presence at the negotiation table, if not imperative, certainly most desirable.

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NOORANI ON DIALOGUE WITH GOVERNMENT

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Oct 83 p 8

[Text] Lahore, Oct. 15--Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani has reiterated the demand of completing the whole process of elections to National and Provincial Assemblies, with all the political parties taking part in it without any discrimination by March next year under the 1973 Constitution. He said none was authorised to effect any amendment in it.

Addressing a well-attended Press conference here today, Maulana Noorani said during the talks with the President, the JUP delegation discussed the 5-point agenda in detail which envisaged lifting of ban on political parties and activities, giving a tentative election schedule, removal of curbs from the Press, doing away with military courts and rejection of the Aug. 12 announcement. The JUP, he said, was of the considered opinion that nobody was empowered to amend the 1973 Constitution.

Besides this, he said, the issue of release of political prisoners also figured in the talks and the JUP while demanding release of all political workers who had courted arrests, asked the President that those against whom cases of anti-State activities were registered should be tried in common law courts.

According to Maulana Noorani the President agreed with the JUP delegation and also named two or three leaders whose release he indicated.

Maulana Noorani stated during the talks it was decided that the JUP would wait till the President completes round of talks with other political parties to reach certain conclusion.

He said according to the agreement the decision was not to be made public but there was no such condition that the details of the discussion too would not be made public. He lashed out at the government of having charged the JUP of breach of trust and said it was the government which violated the understanding and not the Jamiat.

He was also critical of the impression propagated by the government that the dialogue was held upon the request of JUP and said it was on the desire of the government that his party went to the negotiation table. The

Maulana dilated upon the whole affairs starting with his meeting with Sharifuddin Pirzada in Karachi and then by Raja Zafarul Haq and Maulana Niazi in Lahore and added that the government ministers had constantly been meeting JUP leaders offering them ministries on behalf of the President. He said during the six years of the military government none of the JUP leaders had ever desired seeing the President and the recent session was also possible because the government showed its willingness to have a political dialogue on the issues of national importance and had accepted making the 5-point charter of demand of the JUP as the agenda of the talks.

Maulana Noorani disclosed that the 'General Council' of the Jamiat would now meet on Oct. 26 in Lahore to fully deliberate on the report of the negotiations and chalk out the future course of action adding that "our direct action programme has not been abandoned, its implementation was under suspension."

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TRADERS IN U.S. TO BOOST EXPORTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Oct 83 p 8

[Text] New York, Oct. 15--A six-member Pakistan trade delegation has begun making contacts with American businessmen to explore the possibility of larger exports to the United States.

The delegation, headed by Mohammad Yunus, arrived here on Thursday, after a 12-day trip to Canada.

'We have come to the United States to assess the potentials of the market and its taste so that we can boost our exports accordingly,' Mr. Younis [sic] told APP's special correspondent.

Among the delegation's first engagement yesterday was a call on Pakistan's Consul-General Shamshad Ahmad, who gave its members a thorough briefing on the state of relations with the United States, especially in the economic field.

He said, their visit was significant as three American trade delegations had already visited Pakistan. The Pakistan delegation's visit followed that of President Ziaul Haq who told American businessmen and industrialists last December of his desire for more foreign investment in the country and for more exchanges in commercial field.

Thereafter, the delegation was the luncheon guest of U.S. Pakistan economic council which was inaugurated by the Pakistan leader in 1980. The council is made up of American and Pakistani businessmen.

Later, the delegation met the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. In both meetings, Mr. Younus stressed the need for generating mutual understanding, personal confidence and group commitment for a long-term and self-generating flow of a two-way trade between the United States and Pakistan.

'The most attractive point is the fact of definite revival of private enterprise in Pakistan,' he told them.

Mr. Yonus spoke of the measures taken by the present government that led to the revival of Pakistan's economy and the extension of the role of private enterprise.

'Thus foundations have been laid for a bold approach towards development planning tuned to offer wider incentives to domestic and foreign entrepreneurs during the Sixth Five-Year Plan period.'

Besides, he said Pakistan was a stable country in the region, and foreign investments would not be nationalised.

In the evening, the delegation attended a reception hosted by the Consul-General at the Pakistan House. It was attended by American and Pakistani businessmen.--APP

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PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY: INTER-DEPENDENCE OF PROVINCES DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Akram Varrach: "Our Rulers Have Failed To Devise Rules of the Game"]

[Text]

LAHORE, Oct. 14: "All the provinces of Pakistan are economically so much inter-dependent that if Pakistan breaks none of its federating units will be able to survive".

This view was expressed by Dr. Mubashar Hasan, former Finance Minister of Pakistan at Lahore Press Club while participating in the programme Tajzia. "Unfortunately", Dr. Mubashar lamented, "our tradition is of non-reconciliation". Punjab, he said, was more dependent on other provinces because "poor is always less dependent".

Dr. Mubashar spoke for about two hours and dealt at length on the inter-dependence of provinces presenting data in favour of his arguments.

About the ruling class of Pakistan he said they have proved to be highly incapable. They have failed to solve socio-political problems and also failed to devise rules of the game. This failure of the ruling class have resulted in abrogation of the Constitution.

Showing Punjab's dependence on other provinces through diagrams he explained Punjab virtually had no electricity of its own. It received per year 670 million units from Sind, 3,500 million units from NWFP and 3,790 million units from AJK. Two power stations at Multan and Faisalabad were also running on Baluchistan Gas. Punjab received 800,000 tons of coal from Baluchistan. Coal also came from Sind.

Punjab's dependence on 85,400 million cubic feet gas from Baluchistan was so critical for its domestic and industrial use that it could hardly survive for two days if supply was cut. Sind also manufactured 440,000 tons cement annually for Punjab, besides providing transportation facilities for imported cement. Every year Punjab got through Sind 33,38 000 tons of petrol, oil and lubricants processed at Sind refineries worth 11,000 million rupee, machinery worth Rs. 7,000 million, manufactured goods worth Rs. 6,000 million, beverages worth Rs. 2,000 million and food items to the tune of Rs. 4,000 million.

In addition to local production Punjab also imported 3,67,000 tons fertilizer, 3,80,000 tons edible oil and 43,000 tons cement through Sind.

In return Punjab gave Sind nothing except 51,000 tons of wheat per annum.

The two most dependent provinces according to the data provided by Dr. Mubashar are Punjab and NWFP. The Frontier, he said, depended on Punjab for 5,76,000 tons of wheat and 28,000 tons of ghee. It was also receiving 20,000 tons of ghee and 2,90,000 tons of cement from Sind. For gas (4,800 million cubic feet) and coal (50,000 tons) NWFP relied on Baluchistan.

The Frontier annually imports petrol, oil and lubricants worth Rs. 3,000 million, machinery worth Rs. 2,000 million, manufactured goods worth Rs. 2,000 million crude material worth Rs.

1,000 million, food items worth Rs. 1,000 million and fertilizer worth 67,000 tons. For all these imports the province depends on the port of Karachi and these are routed via Sind and Punjab.

Baluchistan's imports, Dr. Mubashar said, were negligible due to low standard of life in that province. The only thing it receives from Punjab is 4,35,000 tons of wheat. From Sind it receives ghee, (17,000 tons) and cement (2,00,000 tons).

Punjab exports via Sind goods worth Rs. 14.5 billion, Frontier exports via Punjab and Sind goods worth Rs. 4.0 billion, and Baluchistan via Sind Rs. 1.3 billion. Sind's own exports are worth Rs. 6 billion.

Dr. Mubashar said Sind also depended on Punjab because Punjab was a market for Sind. He said in this scenario of interdependence means of communication played a vital role in industrial and economic activity.

He criticized the Railway Minister who had said that 650 wagons were coming every day from Karachi and that railway traffic was normal. He said it was not true because way back in 1975-76 normal arrival of wagons from Karachi was 1,200 wagons per day.

Replying to a question Dr. Mubashar said although he felt concerned about the whole Pakistan, was more worried about Punjab. Every body knew not that the situation was grave. He said many world powers, especially the United States, were interested in trouble in this area and

did not attach any importance to the integrity of Pakistan.

"We must go to our Sindhi brethren with folded hands and assure them that we are ready to accept all their demands" he said

He said unfortunately we were not ready to learn lessons from history or the laws of science. If we did not abandon egotism and irrationality our 30 years of independence will be crushed under the ruthless wheels of history, he concluded.

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#### HOUSING BODY RECOMMENDS MULTISTORY BUILDINGS

Islamabad THE MU'SLIM in English 16 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] Islamabad, Oct. 15--The National Committee on Housing has recommended the construction of multi-storeyed buildings and maximum use of waste agricultural land for housing.

A report of the committee has also recommended that the residential plot sizes be standardised in the new housing policy, throughout the country to six categories. The largest plot should not be more than 500 sq metres while the four others sizes of the plots recommended are of 250 sq metres, 160 sq metres, 105 sq metres, 72 sq metres and the smallest plot of 45 sq metres.

The report says that relaxation to the prescribed plot sizes should be allowed only in special cases on merit.

To conserve urban land, vertical residential construction should be encouraged and steps should be taken to optimise the use of land and the present policy of residential densities being followed should be reviewed and higher densities in single housing adopted.

The report further says the location of housing schemes for low-income groups should be such as may promote social integration and discourage social segregation.

The report has asked for the discouragement of free-hold ownership as far as possible and recommended that the ownership of land for future housing and development schemes with public agencies which should, after development, lease out the land to various users.

The National Committee on Housing has also recommended that the new housing policy should give special attention to solve the residential problem of government servants and employees of the various affiliated bodies as the market price of residential plots is completely out of their financial reach.

The report says "it is felt that there is already great pressure on land and even on areas where at present there is seemingly less pressure, it is

bound to increase, first due to the increase in population and secondly due to land being needed for other competing demands like industrialisation, commercial uses and roads, etc. It is not desirable also to divert agricultural land indiscriminately for non-agricultural uses soon a stage will come when a balance will have to be struck between the land required for agricultural purposes and other needs."

The report has recommended that in planning new housing schemes, the preparation of small plot sizes should commensurate with national income stratification to avoid pre-emption of large chunks of central city lands for the high income housing and building of low income housing colonies on the outskirts of the cities and towns.--APP

CSO: 4600/64

LOCAL ELECTIONS: SYSTEM'S WEAKNESSES DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Raja Afzal: "Local Bodies Elections: Fact and Fiction"]

[Text] The recent local bodies elections have left a trail of greed, hypocrisy, and selfishness in their wake but this fact will not find a place in official reports. The situation is not, in fact, unfamiliar. However, given the current claims about the successful debut of Islamisation one would have hoped to see a modicum of aversion to the age-old electioneering mal-practices instead of a marked accentuation of them.

In the past, there was no method of examining the impact of elections on the national psyche. But now that extra-ordinary emphasis is being laid on our ideological base, quite a few pertinent questions occur to those who disliked the excessive window-dressing of the past ruling elites' avowal of true Islamic values. If religious scholars or the Council of Islamic Ideology itself would care to answer these questions it may help in assessing whether these elections have been conducive in fashioning true Islamic character in individuals. These questions are as follows:

1. Is a vote a sacred trust, and if so, whose and for whom? Or is it a simple contract, and if so, between whom?
2. If a vote is cast without any consideration, it would in fact be wasted. Hence, what is wrong with casting it for purely personal gain or even a limited collective gain, such as getting a mosque repaired, the maintenance of a community graveyard, or such mundane gratifications as sumptuous feasts and transport facilities?
3. From a moral perspective, who is a better voter, the person who believes that casting a vote is a contract, accepts a mutually agreed price for it and keeps his contract regardless of the dictates of conscience? Or is the better voter the individual who casts his vote very conscientiously, unmindful of the terms of the contract he entered into when he accepted the price?
4. If many candidates make use of all the subterfuges, including bribery, coercion (extending to even threats and violence) and all the known

unorthodox propaganda wiles, so adroitly as not to violate the letter of the law and win the election, will a state, claiming to be Islamic, be justified in calling the exercise just and fair? Will it conveniently ignore the corrosion of voting morality during the process?

5. Voting is a strictly personal and individual right. Its secrecy has to be guaranteed. If this thesis is accepted in Islam, there must be some mechanism by which the exercise of this purely personal right can be converted into an expression of collective will. What is this mechanism, and what prevents us for making use of it?

#### 'Fair & Peaceful'

The official assessment of the local bodies elections in the Punjab as 'fair and peaceful,' pleases only certain people. Despite violating all Islamic values, these clever individuals are popular with both the establishment and the people, who are said to be clamouring for accelerating the pace of total Islamisation. Behind the scenes, however, the recent elections have raised doubts about the new brand of Islamisation. Tales abound of sale and purchase of votes for substantial sums; of candidates vying to satisfy voters' whims, individually and collectively; of undermining the resolve of the voters to unite for the best candidates, by corrupting the weaklings among them to start the disintegrative process; of successful attempts to belittle the sanctity of pledges and promises; of misuse of the office of indulgent government functionaries; of floating false rumours to shake the confidence of the voters in each other and in the candidates of their choice; by the use of 'toughs and musclemen' of both sexes in the vicinity of the polling booths; and of general disruption of the social fabric at the local level, where close relatives and bosom friends have been turned against each other by unscrupulous and power hungry candidates. The election winners proffer such tales to show their cleverness in using the name of Islam in justification of all the un-Islamic practices they employed. The losers also recite the same tales but with a venom implying that the Islamic sentiments of the Establishment and the people are no better than those of the newly elected representatives.

If these election results are what the government terms 'positive' one might very well ask how they differ from the results of the few elections held in the past.

If the candidates elected in the past were selfish and corrupt, we will find that the same is true today. The difference is that in the past the stakes were high: membership in provincial and national assemblies, which offered greater temptation for grabbing seats at all costs and against heavy odds. In the recent elections, 'grabbing' was carried out with equal, if not greater, ferocity, even though the stakes did not merit such effort. Thus the election evils, which the President has been very rightly condemning, have seeped down to the grass-roots level. This cannot by any logic, be called a 'positive' achievement.

## Positive Role

Again, in the past, the political parties, however, disorganised and disreputable they might have been, played a positive role in knitting the voters together and bringing about a semblance of collective political thinking. It was certainly not like the scramble for 'netting' votes, pitching one voter against the other and breaking up whatever collective thinking was suspected, that was witnessed in the recent elections. More disruptive and unifying forces were at work due to the official policy of permitting only unattached candidates to participate.

The only unifying force, if it could be called one, was the district administration, whose contribution was confined to maintaining discipline when polling was in progress and ensuring proper law enforcement from the beginning. This responsibility was so well defined and exact that it appeared to leave no room for personal discretion. It must be said to the credit of the district administration that apart from stray instances of personal friendship, which nearly four years of close association had fostered between the incumbent members (now contesting elections) and certain officials, not much outright interference in the polls was witnessed. By and large, therefore, so far as the legal aspect of the polls was concerned, it would be correct to claim that the local administration maintained a facade of neutrality most adroitly.

It was definitely a facade of neutrality, because the favourite candidates of the Establishment gained advantage legally. One outstanding example was the enlistment of new voters up to poll-time and the prompt issue of identity cards to the new voters. It was all very legal and apparently a great facility for voters. But in practice, it benefited those candidates much more who knew the ropes and had money and influence in the official circles than the new-comers. Although quite a few new-comers have been elected, the general impression is that these have replaced the opponents of those previously in power who, in turn, have emerged much stronger than before, with practically no opposition.

Of course, the official claim will be that the incumbent councillors had done so well and the system had proved such a boon that the people did not hesitate to give the verdict that, by and large, the old were the best. This stock official appraisal should not surprise anyone who has objectively observed past election exercises, if and when carried out. Even when a ruling party brazenly rigged votes, the official assessment was still couched in stock phrases: "the elections were free, fair and impartial," "the enthusiasm of the people left no doubt that the elections had left them satisfied and happy," "re-election of the incumbent members signifies the people's approbation of their past performance." In the past, the opposition jeered at these phrases. But this time those who claim to be in the opposition and clamour for general elections under the 1973 Constitution do not challenge such phrases. Instead, their silence is acquiescence. They prefer to argue that if local bodies elections can be held "peacefully and fairly and can produce positive results," then there is no justification for postponing the general elections.

### Dress Rehearsal

This successful dress rehearsal for elections has exploded the myths that the political parties have active workers cadres and that the people desire that the ban on political parties should be lifted. Supposedly militant workers of well-known political parties have been seen selling their expertise to the highest bidder regardless of party instructions. And it is clear also that the people love election activity in any form, with or without political parties and without regard to the election results. If the official election analysts also arrive at the same findings it will not be surprising if the Majlis-e-Shoora review the August 12 declaration and fix a much earlier date for the general elections, on the same pattern as the elections just held.

In that case, by silent acquiescence the position of the political parties, who have accepted the claim that the local bodies elections were 'free, fair and impartial' and that the successful candidates have the backing of the people, will become very anomalous. The elections they are demanding will be held without them; the recently elected councillors, whose claim as elected representatives of the people cannot now be questioned, will go all out to make these elections a success and ensure that their patrons and henchmen are elected to higher assemblies; the Establishment will remain as adroitly neutral as before, because providing legal cover for the ploys of the candidates it's favours have proven highly effective, the people will enjoy another opportunity of being feasted, flattered and more than fully compensated in every respect. The political parties may even run out of workers if non-party politics become the order of the day.

### Non-Party Politics

Strictly speaking, "non-party politics" is a contradiction in terms. If we look at the results of the recent local bodies elections more closely, we become aware that even though they were allegedly on a non-party, non-political basis, the foundation of a strong pro-Establishment political party has been laid. It would not be betraying any secret to assert that the members of this new party are covertly committed to the manifesto of a President's Party outlined in the August 12, 1983 declaration. This political party has some unique features. It will be a single political forum without any legally recognised rival. It will be the foster child of the bureaucracy. It will represent the 'private sector' as distinct from the 'public sector' in the political arena. The pyramid of this new political private sector will be completed when the general elections are held on the same pattern as the present local bodies elections.

Perhaps a single political party, lacking statutory opposition and subject to bureaucratic discipline, is the right answer to our political malaise. The 1973 Constitution does not bar such a party, nor does it require that elections be held on party basis. Now that the ground work for the official emergence of such a party has been completed, it will not even be necessary to give it a name or a concrete form. This formality can be deferred until the general elections are held and the same 'positive

results' have been achieved. This strategy will seal the fate of political parties.

Unfortunately, the political parties have been hoisted by their own petard. They not only gave a cold shoulder to the local bodies elections and missed a golden chance of asserting their political existence, but they have remained glumly indifferent to the conduct of these elections, with a view to making out a case for the holding of general elections. Thus they have given the Establishment a plausible excuse, backed by practical proof, that elections can be held freely, fairly and peacefully without the participation of the political parties. In fact, if the Establishment now takes the stand that involvement of the political parties and their supporters is the cause of all the trouble hitherto associated with electioneering exercises, it will have a substantial sympathetic element of the public on its side.

The recent elections have once again proved that in the struggle for power, it is very difficult and perhaps un-natural to uphold principles or remain strictly patriotic and religious. These finer emotions can be used as slogans as long as they do not obstruct the law of the jungle with all its ferocity and wiles. When a nation joins in the struggle and enjoys the uprooting of all that it should preserve at all costs as if it was a grand tamasha, it cannot question what it gets.

O: 4600/64

### MINISTER TALKS ABOUT ALLOCATIONS FOR INDUSTRY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Oct 83 p 8

[Text] Karachi, Oct. 15--The Federal Industries Minister, Ellahi Bux Soomro, said here today that a record sanction of industrial projects entailing an amount of Rs. 46 billion was accorded by the present government during the last six years.

In an informal chat with newsmen at his residence, the Minister said, of the sanctioned projects, 50 per cent projects had already been implemented, which was not done even in Ayub era. He said the remaining projects were at implementation stage and in the pipeline.

He said the tempo of industrialisation amply showed that investment climate in Pakistan was quite favourable. Answering a question, Mr. Soomro said, under the Islamabad declaration, the task force set up with an assignment to prepare inventories of possible joint ventures and its methodology had done its job. He said feasibility reports of 55 projects identified had been completed and submitted to the Secretariat of the Organisation of Islamic Conference. He said that the task force remained in touch with the member countries.

As scheduled, the feasibility reports would come up for consideration by the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference scheduled to be held in Dacca in December next.

Asked about the possible investment by U.S. investors in Pakistan, the minister said that certain projects had already been identified and the entire process is in the hands of entrepreneurs of the two countries.

He said that during the visit of OPIC mission to Pakistan early this year, 11 projects were sanctioned on the spot.

Ellahi Bux Soomro said here today that Egypt was keen to foster economic and trade relations with Pakistan. Talking to newsmen the Minister said that he had invited his Egyptian counterpart to visit Pakistan and have first hand idea about the industrial progress made by their country in various fields. He said that during the visit, the Egyptian minister would be shown particularly the engineering goods industries, textile mills, cement plants and unit producing consumer goods.

Mr. Soomro said that Egyptian Ministers visit to Pakistan would provide them an opportunity to discuss and explore the fields and areas in which the two countries could collaborate for mutual benefit. He said that it would be an occasion for them to identify in which area Pakistan could help Egypt and vice versa.

The Minister said Egypt could have the supplies of spare parts for her steel mill from Pakistan. He said that the Chairman of Pakistan Steel H.N. Akhtar had accompanied him during his visit to the steel mill there and discussed its possibilities.

Pakistan, he said had a well developed engineering industry and as such could help Egyptians in this field. Their main industries are textile, urea, and leather.

To a question, the Minister said there was lot of goodwill and affection in Egypt for the people of Pakistan. They are keen to develop mutual co-operation in various fields, he added.

To another question, Mr. Soomro said Egypt was well ahead of Pakistan in the field of education. He said that there was discipline in educational institutions and students are not involved in politics in that country.

He said that the entire population of Egypt occupied only five per cent of land and their main sources of revenue were tourism, Suez Canal, foreign remittances and home remittances.

About the possibilities of co-operation between the two countries in textiles, Mr. Soomro said that the entire industry in Egypt from ginning of cotton to marketing its products were in the public sector. As against, the textile industry in Pakistan is in the private sector. Pakistan, he emphasised, must have to go into wearing and looming in a big way.--APP

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BRIEFS

PLEA FOR LEADER'S TRANSFER--Karachi, Oct. 6--The mother-in-law of Fatahyab Ali Khan, President of Mazdoor Kissan Party, has asked the provincial government to transfer him from Sukkur Jail to Karachi as he was not keeping good health. It may be recalled that Fatahyab Ali Khan courted arrest in the month of August and was convicted by a special martial law court on Sept. 3. On Aug. 23, he was transferred from Karachi Central Jail to Sukkur Central Jail. Mrs. Khawaja Sarwar Hassan, in her letter to the Home Secretary Sind, has disclosed that since his arrival in Sukkur Jail, he was being constantly harassed. On reaching Sukkur, he was kept for 10 days continuously under lock and key without being let out. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 7 Oct 83 p 6]

CLARIFICATION ON KHAKSAR LEADER--Lahore, Oct. 15--Khan Ashraf is free to hold talks with President Ziaul Haq in his personal capacity but not as a representative of Khaksar Tehrik. His basic membership was cancelled in 1980 by the Idara-e-Aliya (The chief authority). This was stated in a Press release here today by Begum Saeeda Allama Almashraqi, chief of Khaksar Tehrik. Bagum Sahiba has alleged that Khan Ashraf had no political following of his own and used the name of Khaksar Tehrik to promote his individual interests. She said there were serious allegations of misappropriations of funds against him. She warned Khan Ashraf to stop collaborating with the government when hundreds of people were giving lives for the cause of freedom, justice and democracy. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Oct 83 p 6]

LEADER ON CONSPIRACY AGAINST PAKISTAN--Hyderabad, Oct. 15--Nawab Muhammad Yameen Khan, a member of the Federal Council and G.S. Muslim League (Pagaro Group) said here today that the conspiracy to undo Pakistan which had started following the murder of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan the late Liaquat Ali Khan continues unabated and the present disturbances in the country were a part of the same conspiracy. He was addressing a meeting held to commemorate the death anniversary of Khan Liaquat Ali Khan jointly organised by Pakistan National Centre and Bazm-e-Pakistan at PNC auditorium. Paying rich tributes to the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, a lieutenant of the Quaid-e-Azam, Nawab Yameen said that the Shaheed-e-Millat had the courage of shouldering the responsibilities of a newly-born nation at a critical moment and it was on account of his sacrifices that the nation is now poised as an important segment of the third world. The elements attempting

to break the country and divert its Islamic character, he said, have been conspiring since the establishment of the country and were responsible for the breaking up of Pakistan in 1971. Also, the same elements are now trying to disintegrate the four provinces. The other speakers were Syed Hassan Ahmed Shah, Professor Qavi Ahmed, Ibrahim Ujaini, Rafiq Darbari and others. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Oct 83 p 8]

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